







DEATH OF FREDERICK II AT PALERMO

Germany, Frontispiece, vol. two.

GERMANY

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIOD

BY
WOLFGANG MENZEL

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION
By MRS. GEORGE HORROCKS

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER OF RECENT EVENTS
By EDGAR SALTUS

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THE HISTORY OF GERMANY

PART X

THE FRANCONIAN, SALIC EMPERORS

(CONTINUED)

CXLVI. *Henry the Fifth*

THE dispute between Henry IV. and the pope meanwhile continued, and a sentence of excommunication was again pronounced against him by Pasqual II., who had succeeded Urban on the pontifical throne. Henry declared war against Robert of Flanders, on account of his adherence to the papal party, which had the majority of the nation on its side, but was at length driven to seek a reconciliation with the pope, whose favor he attempted to propitiate, by setting on foot another crusade, which, however, did not take place.

Far behind the times in which he lived, and which required a much more energetic leader, Henry's high position was but the means of accumulating disgrace and misery on his head. In 1104, Henry, his youngest and most beloved son, followed Conrad's example, and rebelled against him. This young man inherited the strong and manly intellect of his grandfather, Henry III., and his later deeds prove that he pursued a noble aim, the restoration of the imperial authority; but the means whereby he sought to insure success, and the heartlessness with which he removed the first obstacle in his path, his old gray-headed father, reflect eternal shame on his memory. His rebellion was countenanced by the pope, and he was joined by all the princes, who were either animated by their ancient enmity toward Henry, or

by a hope of gaining something by a change of masters. The duke Frederick, Henry's most devoted adherent, expired, in 1105, at the moment when his assistance was most needed; he left two sons, minors, Frederick and Conrad, and Prince Henry gained Swabia by wedding Frederick's widow, his own sister, to Leopold, Margrave of Austria, who united with Bohemia in favor of his cause. Wratislaw, the emperor's ally, was dead. His son, Brzetislaw II., was assassinated by the Wrssowez, who, notwithstanding the endeavors of Borzivoi II., Wratislaw's brother, and of the brave Wiprecht von Groitsch, succeeded in placing a relation, named Suatopluk, a friend of Prince Henry, on the throne of Bohemia.

The touching appeals of the emperor to his son being disregarded, he put himself at the head of his troops and marched against him. The cities remained faithful to their allegiance, and closed their gates against the rebellious prince, with the exception of Nuremberg, which was betrayed to him by the Jews, and almost entirely destroyed. Both armies met not far from Ratisbon, and the emperor, discovering that he was betrayed by his own followers, fled, perhaps too hastily, in the sorrow of his heart. He had still numerous adherents in the Rhine country, and his son, finding force unavailing, attempted by cunning to oblige him voluntarily to abdicate the throne, and proposed a conference at Coblenz. The emperor came; but struck to the heart at the sight of his ungrateful child, flung himself at his feet, exclaiming, "My son, my son, if I am to be punished by God for my sins, at least stain not thine honor, for it is unseemly in a son to sit in judgment over his father's sins." The prince, with assumed remorse, entreated his forgiveness, and, under pretense of accompanying him to the diet at Mayence, found means to separate him from his attendants, and to shut him up at Bingen, where he was required by the archbishops of Mayence and of Cologne, and the bishop of Worms, to give up the crown jewels. The aged emperor, finding his entreaties vain, placed the jewels

worn by Charlemagne on his own person, and, appearing in state before the bishops, defied them to touch the ornaments worn by the ruler of the world. The bishops quickly recovered from their astonishment at this unexpected scene, and, after depriving him of the jewels by force, adorned the person of his son with them at Mayence. Henry, nevertheless, had not yet abdicated. This was required by the diet. The emperor was desirous of visiting Mayence, but his son, rightly tearing lest he might be rescued by the citizens, merely permitted him to advance as far as Ingelheim, whither he and the dukes also repaired, and, by means of violent threats, which caused him to throw himself in despair at the feet of his unnatural son, he was compelled to sign his abdication. Henry V. was instantly proclaimed emperor, and his father, who still remained under the interdict, was condemned to pass the remainder of his days at Ingelheim.

The cities of the Upper Rhine, firm in their allegiance to their ancient master, meanwhile revolted, and Henry V., who had marched to attack them, suffered a complete defeat before Ruffach in Alsace. This success emboldened his father to seek at least a more secure asylum, and, for that purpose, he entreated Gebhard, bishop of Spire, whose cathedral he had formerly richly endowed, to grant him a prebendaryship, in order that he might die in peace. The meek request of the excommunicated and fallen monarch was scornfully refused, and he was at length compelled to sell his boots in order to procure the means of subsistence. He afterward escaped into Lothringia, where his old friends, the citizens of Cologne, Bishop Albert of Liege, and Henry, count of Limburg, who, on the demise of Godfred of Bouillon, had become duke of Lower Lothringia, offered him a refuge. Henry V. invaded Lothringia, but was defeated on the Maas. During his subsequent unsuccessful siege of Cologne, the emperor expired at Liege, after solemnly pardoning his son, in token of which he sent to him his sword and his ring. He was buried by Bishop Albert in an island, in 1106, and an aged pilgrim from Jerusalem watched for sev-

eral years over his tomb. In 1111, he was freed from the interdict, and solemnly interred at Spires at the side of his faithful Bertha. His favorite saying was, "Men have much and various knowledge, but no one is thoroughly acquainted with himself." Henry's old enemy, Magnus, the last of the Billung family, also died in 1106, leaving two daughters, Eilika, who married Otto, count of Ballenstadt, and bore Albrecht the Bear, and Wulfhilda, who married Henry the Black, brother to the Welf, and bore Henry the Proud. The emperor, in order to divide the power of the Saxons, bestowed the ducal dignity formerly borne by the Billungs on Lothar, count of Supplinburg, his former partisan. Lothar married Nixa, the daughter of Henry the Fat, count of Nordheim, who in 1106 was defeated by the Frisicians, when attempting to subdue them. Henry also established peace, and partitioned the government in Lothringia; Henry von Limburg was created duke, and Godfred von Löwen, the emperor's favorite, was raised to the ducal throne of Brabant.¹

Henry V. next attempted to establish his authority on a firmer footing in the Slavian East. The Wrssowez, who made common cause with Poland, and planned a Slavian reaction against Germany, had become intolerable to Suatopluk, whom they narrowly watched; and he, it may be by Henry's advice, caused the whole of that family, one alone excepted, to be exterminated, to the number of one thousand. He then united with the emperor against Poland, and laid siege to Glogau, but, being assassinated in the emperor's tent by the last of the murdered Wrssowez, all the Bohemians instantly quitted the camp. The emperor was afterward defeated by Boleslaw of Poland, on the ground now occupied by the town of Hundsfeld, which derived its appellation from the dogs that fed on the unburied bodies (1109). Wiprecht von Groitsch interposed, and peace was agreed to on condition of his brother-in-law Borzivoi being made king of Bohemia. He may possibly have not been altogether

¹ He was the founder of the house of Hesse, and related to the last Carolingians in Lothringia.

innocent of Suatopluk's assassination. When his son, Wiprecht the younger, entered Prague in company with Borzivoi, the emperor ordered them to be seized, and compelled Wiprecht the elder to ransom his son's life by the cession of the Lausitz, which he bestowed upon Hoyer von Mansfeld, his gallant commander-in-chief. Bohemia fell to Borzivoi's brother, Wladislaw, who appears to have betrayed him, and to have paid a large sum to the emperor.—Leopold of Austria, filled with remorse for his infidelity to the late emperor, sought to atone for his guilt by the erection of several monasteries, among others that on the Leopoldberg near Vienna. The church, fully sensible of his worth, canonized him. He left three sons, Leopold, Henry Sammirgott, and Otto, bishop of Freysingen, the celebrated historian.

The vigor of Henry's government ere long estranged from him his late papal partisans; the Roman hierarchy, by making use of him as a tool in their designs against his father, had, as it were, morally annihilated him, and could not brook his elevation. The pope, Pasqual II., was weak, and in the hands of a fanatical party, headed by Guido de Vienne, archbishop of Lyons, who, without asking his permission, caused the emperor to be excommunicated by a synod held at Vienne, on account of his refusal to cede his right of investiture (1112). The emperor, without noticing the proceedings of this synod, marched to Rome and left the settlement of the matter to his chancellor, Adalbert, who proposed the strictest division between the power of the state and that of the church; the state never to intermeddle with ecclesiastical affairs, and the church to remain unpossessed of lands and worldly wealth. A wise, but impracticable counsel, for, as might clearly have been foreseen, the church would never voluntarily surrender her possessions. The emperor at length cut the matter short by seizing the person of the pope and compelling him to disclaim the right of investiture. Guido de Vienne raved, and scarcely had the emperor withdrawn from Rome than the pope declared the transaction void, the terms having been forced upon him, and Adal-

bert, to whom the emperor had promised the archbishopric of Mayence, fearing the pope's refusal to confirm him in his dignity, and, moreover, foreseeing that the church would prove victorious, went over to Guido's party, for which he was rewarded by the pope with a cardinal's hat and the supreme direction over the whole of the German clergy.

A party, inimical to the emperor, was, at the same time, formed in Saxony. The Pfalzgraf Siegfried, a relation of Lothar, who had been deprived of his dignity by the emperor on an accusation of treason, claimed the rich inheritance of the counts of Orlamund, whose family had become extinct. By the concurrence of Lothar, the young Henry von Stade, whose heritage had been sold by the emperor to his guardian Frederick, had also been reinstated, and the assistance of the Saxons against the Bohemians and the Poles had been extremely lukewarm. Lothar, who had been declared by the emperor out of the ban of the empire, now found himself backed by almost the whole of Northern Germany, more particularly by Wiprecht the elder and Louis of Thuringia, and by the great ecclesiastical party, at whose head stood Adalbert, the emperor's ungrateful chancellor. His capture by the emperor, which shortly afterward took place, deprived the confederates of their leader, and the emperor, suddenly entering Saxony, surprised his opponents near Warnstädt. Hoyer's impetuous charge bore all before it. Siegfried was slain, and Wiprecht the elder was taken prisoner, 1113. After re-establishing peace throughout the North, Henry solemnized his marriage with Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. of England, with great splendor, at Mayence, in 1114. It was here that Lothar and Louis of Thuringia, barefoot and in beggarly attire, threw themselves at his feet and begged for mercy. Louis was thrown into prison. Henry's unrelenting severity, his open suppression of the power of the great vassals of the empire, and his assumption of despotic rule, raised a fresh conspiracy, at the head of which appeared Frederick, archbishop of Cologne. This city was vainly besieged by the emperor, who was de-

feated before the gates, and Berthold III. of Zähringen was taken prisoner. This signal success infused fresh spirit into the Saxons, while the emperor, with his usual decision, declared the whole of Saxony out of the ban of the empire, created Count Hoyer von Mansfeld¹ duke of Saxony in place of Lothar, and marched in person with his whole force against the rebels. Hoyer, too impatient to grasp the ducal coronet, ventured singly too far in advance, and was killed in sight of both armies, by Wiprecht von Groitsch the younger, in the battle of Welfisholz in the county of Mansfeld. The loss of this commander threw the imperial army into confusion, and the victorious Saxons left the bodies of their fallen opponents unburied on the field, as being under the interdict of the church. The emperor wandered in his flight among the Harz Mountains. On the same day Otto von Ballenstädt gained a victory at Köthen over the rebellious Wends (1115), and the Saxons once more gained the palm of glory.

This disastrous day was fatal to every hope that had been entertained for the preservation of the integrity of the state by the emperor, and inflicted an almost deadly blow on the nation, which saw itself henceforward doomed to disunion and exposed to foreign (papal and French) influence. Blinded by the provincial hatred between the Saxons and the Franks,² the nation showed no inclination to favor the rise of the imperial power, and seemed insensible to the manner in which their honor and their most sacred interests were betrayed to the foreigner.

¹ Hoyer's mother died before his birth; hence his motto:

Ich Graf Hoyer ungeboren,
Hab niemals eine Schlacht verloren.

Which may be rendered:

I, Count Hoyer, the unborn,
Was never in a fight forlorn.

² The Saxons were flattered at the expense of the Franks, and yet the result of this victory gained by the former deprived the common Saxon of many of his ancient privileges, and rendered him, now that he was no longer under the protection of the crown, gradually more and more subservient to the nobility.—*Stuve, The Westphalian Archive of Wigand.*

It was exactly at this period that the celebrated Countess Matilda expired in Italy, and bequeathed her rich possessions to the church.¹ Henry's late defeat by the Saxons, and the renewed interdict laid upon him by the pope, rendered the preservation of this important territory to the state a task of no common difficulty; but, with his usual fertility in resources, he dispatched a nobleman, Dietrich von der Aare, by whom he had formerly been beaten before Cologne, but who had afterward become his friend, to negotiate with Lothar, and to represent to him that they must all inevitably become slaves to the pope unless they united for the preservation of their temporal rights. At the same time, he set the imprisoned princes at liberty.² But scarcely was Adalbert of Mayence free, than, glowing with revenge, he contrived to work upon Lothar, frustrated Henry's attempts at reconciliation, and opened an assembly of the princes at Cologne without the emperor. Even the emperor's ambassador, Erlung, bishop of Würzburg, went over to Adalbert's party. Upon this, the emperor abandoned Northern Germany for a while, and intrusting Southern Germany to the guardianship of the brave Hohenstaufen, hastened into Italy. Frederick the Old, the first of the Hohenstaufen who bore the title of Duke of Swabia, had left two sons, Frederick the One-eyed, who succeeded him in Swabia, and Conrad, who, on Erlung's defection, was created duke of Franconia.—The policy pursued by Henry V. in Italy was noted for prudence; he everywhere favored the cities whose love of independence

¹ Her grandfather, Bonifacius, owed his rich fief of Tuscany, etc., to the favor of the emperor; but the pope had long coveted its possession, and it is therefore easy to understand why Matilda's first marriage with her stepbrother was permitted by the church, and her second marriage with the youthful Welf so soon annulled.

² Louis of Thuringia is said to have escaped from Gieichenstein by taking a wonderful leap across the Saal. One day, when following the chase, he came to a beautiful mountain, which not being within his territory, he caused earth to be carried thither, into which twelve knights plunged their swords and swore that the earth was his. As he did not possess the means of building a fortress on it, he exclaimed, "Warte Burg!" "The fortress must wait!" He finally erected one on this spot with the money he gained by the sale of wheat during a season of scarcity. This fortress was the celebrated Wartburg.—*Rolte, Chronicle of Thuringia.*

caused them to dread the supremacy of the pope, should he succeed in gaining possession of the lands of the Countess Matilda. He consequently met with a favorable reception at Venice, and even found a strong party in his favor in Rome, headed by the count of Tusculum, to whom he gave his illegitimate daughter, Bertha, in marriage, and by the Frangipani, a family then coming into note. Pasqual was compelled to flee; and the imperial crown was placed on Henry's head by a Portuguese archbishop, who chanced to be in Rome, the only prelate who could be found to perform that ceremony (1116). The principal aim for which Henry had visited Italy, that of taking possession of the lands of the Countess Matilda in the name of the empire, was, however, gained, and he prolonged his stay in that country in order to keep a watch upon Rome. On the death of Pasqual in 1118, he nominated Gregory VIII., to whom the Romans opposed another pope, Gelasius II., whom they had previously elected. This pope was treated with great violence, and expelled by the Frangipani; he expired in the following year. The papal party then placed Guido de Vienne, the emperor's most formidable antagonist, on the pontifical throne, under the name of Calixtus II. (1119). This pope instantly renewed the alliance with the Saxons and Adalbert, and openly opposed the emperor.

In Germany, the Hohenstaufen, notwithstanding their endeavors to keep the field for the emperor, had been alone successful on the Rhine. The troops of Adalbert were defeated by them under the walls of Mayence, and their commander, Emicho von Leiningen, was slain. The citizens of Mayence rebelled against Adalbert, who caused numbers of them to be executed. The Saxons marched to the assistance of Aschaffenburg, his usual residence, and besieged Limburg, which was, however, relieved by Frederick of Swabia, who continued to retain the superiority on the Rhine. The same fortune did not befriend the imperial party in Northern Germany. Frederick von Putelendorf, whom Henry had created Pfalzgraf of Saxony, was com-

pelled to make terms with the rebels at Naumburg, and the great and imperial castle on the Kyffhäuser was burned down.—Adalbert, emboldened by the admonitions of Calixtus II., again excommunicated Henry at a council held at Cologne, and the project of electing a new emperor was being discussed, when Henry V. returned, called a diet at Tribur, and, for the last time, attempted to negotiate terms of peace with the rebellious party. The pope also came to Rheims, on an intimate and secret understanding with the French king, Louis VI., who loaded him with flattery. The emperor, closely pressed by his enemies, found himself compelled to resign the right of investiture, but scarcely was the matter concluded with the pope than a still greater concession was required, the pope pretending to include in the right of investiture, or the right of being the sole elector of the bishops, also that of the impropriation of church lands, and of the royal dues, which until now had been in the gift of the crown. The cession of these rights being steadily refused by the indignant emperor, the treaty was again broken off, and Calixtus II., after once more excommunicating him, visited the king of France at Paris, and proceeded thence in triumph to Rome, whence he expelled the unfortunate Gregory VIII., whom he shortly afterward took prisoner at Sutri, and caused to be exposed to public derision, mounted on the back of a camel.

While Germany was thus insulted by the pope and his French ally, the Germans continued senselessly to dispute, and the emperor was alone upheld in this great national affair by the citizens of the towns,¹ which would have found themselves entirely deprived of the protection of the crown, had all the church property, which included the episcopal cities, become papal fiefs. Cologne and Munster were, at that period, the most zealous supporters of the rights of the state against the church, and of those of Germany against

¹ The emperor at this period declared a number of the city serfs free citizens, and capable of bearing arms, although they still remained incapable of taking part in the government, and subordinate to the (*Geschlechter*) ancient burghers.

Rome. Cologne opened her gates to the emperor; Munster expelled her bishop, but was in consequence besieged and burned by the Saxon princes, 1121. The only one among the princes who returned to his allegiance to the emperor was Wiprecht von Groitsch the elder; but when the emperor, in 1122, stood before Mayence, and the Saxons marched against him to Adalbert's relief, they became ashamed of the opprobrium with which they were viewed by the nation, and with which their names would be handed down to posterity; and the emperor, on his side, being urged by the fear of utter destruction, if fortune again favored the Saxons, it was resolved that each party should send twelve representatives to Wurzburg, there to negotiate terms of peace; and at length, notwithstanding the opposition of Adalbert, a reconciliation was accomplished. The emperor, at the same time, made terms with the pope, to whom, by the treaty of Worms, he conceded the impropriation of church property, with the exception of the royal dues, a point of great importance for the cities and townships. He was now for the first time freed from the interdict, 1122.

Disputes, nevertheless, appeared interminable. Gundebald, bishop of Utrecht, plotted against the emperor's life, and on Henry's attempting to seize Utrecht, in order to punish the traitor, he was again opposed by Lothar, who also aided young Henry von Eilenburg in the conquest of Meissen, and in the expulsion of Wiprecht the elder, whom the Bohemians sought to aid; but Lothar, shut up between the two, deceived both, and forced them to retreat. On the other side, Adalbert was propitiated by the Thuringian tithes, which were granted to him by the emperor, but which he never received, the people rising en masse against him.

War now broke out between England and France, and the death of Prince William, the emperor's brother-in-law, the only son of Henry I., who was drowned when crossing the Channel, placed the emperor next in succession to the throne of England. When called upon to support England against France, he left no means untried to persuade the

German princes to aid in carrying out the great idea of a union between Germany and England; but in vain, the faithless vassals merely beholding the decrease of their individual importance in the increasing power of the state and that of the crown, which it was ever their aim to weaken, if not completely to annihilate, in order to raise themselves in the fallen state, like mushrooms on the overthrown oak. It was in vain that the emperor bestowed the Lausitz, on the demise of Wiprecht the elder,¹ on Albrecht von Brandenburg, the Bear, and Meissen on Conrad,² the cousin of the deceased Henry von Eilenburg. He was not supported. His attempt to raise funds for the prosecution of the foreign war by the imposition of a general contribution toward the exigencies of the empire was treated with contempt; and he expired, in the prime of life, with the bitter consciousness of the defeat of all the schemes for the sake of which he had acted so criminally toward his parent. A bad son, but a great emperor, whom misfortune might destroy, but could not bend. He left no issue, and bequeathed the whole of his inheritance to the faithful Hohenstaufen.

CXLVII. *Lothar the Third*

THE third great dynasty of the emperors of Germany had terminated with the life of this last scion of the Salic race, and the nations over which he had reigned again collected in countless thousands, as on the previous occasion of the election of Conrad, on the shores of the Rhine, between Mayence and Worms. The encampment was arranged in the form of a cross, each of the four nations being placed in its natural position, the Saxons to the northeast, the Franks to the northwest, the Bavarians to the southeast,

¹ He died in consequence of wounds he received when attempting to extinguish with his bare feet a fire that broke out in the night.

² Conrad having spread a report that young Henry was a supposititious child, and the son of a baker, Henry imprisoned him in a narrow iron cage in the well-known Fuchsthurm at Jena. Conrad, notwithstanding, survived, and succeeded him.

and the Swabians to the southwest. Each nation elected ten princes, who in their turn elected one, and to these four was intrusted the election of a monarch. The choice of the Saxons fell upon Lothar, duke of Supplinburg; while the Franks elected Charles, count of Flanders; the Bavarians, Leopold, Margrave of Austria; and the Swabians, Frederick, duke of Hohenstaufen. Adalbert of Mayence was president of the diet, and naturally was in favor of Lothar, the ancient ally of the pope. The Hohenstaufen were deceived,¹ and the interest of the Welfs was secured by the marriage of Gertrude, Lothar's daughter, with Henry the Proud of Bavaria, the son of Henry the Black.

Lothar, in order to get rid of the Hohenstaufen, his most dangerous rivals, instantly laid claim to the possessions of the Salic family as fiefs of the empire, and demanded their cession from Frederick, although he had himself, at an earlier period, defended the hereditary right of the princes against the feudal right of the emperor, in the case of the lands pertaining to the families of Orlamund and Stade. On Frederick's refusing to comply, he was put out of the ban of the empire. He long defended the town of Nuremberg against the united forces of Lothar and of the Welfs. The siege was raised by his brother Conrad on his return from a crusade, which he had vowed to join during an eclipse of the moon, which filled him with superstitious dread. The Hohenstaufen, supported by the faithful Swabians, courageously maintained their inheritance during several years, and the Upper Rhine country was again laid desolate by the feuds between her native princes. Conrad, a noble-spirited man in the vigor of life, formed the bold resolution of seeking aid from the Salic party in Italy, and, on crossing the Alps, received the crown of Lombardy; but the over-preponderating influence of the pope, Honorius II., who favored the

¹ Adalbert having, with his usual cunning, previously demanded an oath from Frederick to the intent that he would not, under any pretext, oppose the election, Frederick's suspicion was roused, and he refused to take the oath; an incident which was afterward misrepresented by Adalbert.

Welfs, quickly compelled him to retrace his steps. The bloody feud was, meanwhile, carried on with unabated vigor. Frederick was forced to take refuge in the cities in 1128, which, notwithstanding the extraordinary bravery displayed in their defense, fell, one after the other, into the hands of his opponent. Agnes, his second wife, defended Spire with such skill and perseverance against Lothar that he allowed her to retire unmolested. With unflinching valor Conrad defended himself in Hohenstaufen, and afterward in Rotweil. Frederick was surprised by the Welfs during the night at Zwiefalten, where he took refuge upon the tower of the burning church. Lothar, in order to flatter the pope, bestowed the dignity of duke of Franconia on the bishop of Wurzburg. Among those who were put out of the ban of the empire was Reinhold, count of Burgundy, the faithful ally of the Saliers and Staufen.

The power of the Hohenstaufen was now humbled, and Lothar, delivered from apprehension on that score, visited Rome, where, since the demise of Honorius II., two popes, Anacletus II. and Innocent II., disputed the possession of the tiara. Lothar paid homage to the latter as pope, and, in return, demanded from him the immediate cession of the lands of the Countess Matilda; but the remembrance of his former zeal as a papal partisan in opposition to the emperor deprived him of the power of braving the church, now the crown was placed on his own brow; and the dread of sharing the fate of his predecessor, who had vainly attempted to free himself from papal interference, compelled him to consent to the humiliating condition of holding them as a papal fee. The ceremony of swearing fealty was painted by order of the pope, who wrote beneath the picture these words: "*Rex homo fit Papæ.*"¹ As Lothar had no male heir, he bestowed the lands on his son-in-law, Henry the Proud of Bavaria.

On Lothar's return from Italy after the completion of this

¹ Homo, man—vassal.

project, which materially added to his wealth and power, Frederick von Hohenstaufen entreated for pardon, which was granted to him at Bamberg in 1134, the delinquent humbly kneeling at his feet. Conrad also was shortly afterward persuaded to follow his example by St. Bernhard, the abbot of Clairvaux, who preached to the temporal princes unity and peace, in the hope of uniting them in another crusade against the infidels in the East.—Lothar now turned his attention to the long-neglected affairs of the North. In Denmark, St. Canute, the son of Erich Evegod, had been deprived of his throne and life by his cousin Magnus, whom Lothar now attacked, compelled to sue for peace, and to do him homage. It was during the performance of this ceremony that the sword of state was for the first time borne before the emperor. Sobieslaw of Bohemia also took the oath of fealty, in order to secure peace.

Adela, the widow of Canute, a daughter of Robert the Friscian, fled with her little son, Charles, to her relations in Flanders. Her father had died in 1093, and his son, Robert of Jerusalem, who had accompanied the first crusade to the Holy Land, and had supported the pope against Henry IV., was killed in a petty feud, in which he aided the French monarch, by a fall from his horse (1111). He was succeeded by his son, Baldwin with the ax (Boudewyn Apkin), who always bore a battle-ax, and was distinguished for his love of justice and order. He made himself greatly feared by Henry, king of England, who had unjustly usurped the duchy of Normandy, whence he had expelled his nephew. During Henry's stay at Rouen,¹ he subjected him to every species of annoyance. He died of a badly-healed wound in 1119. Being without issue, he named as his successor his friend and cousin, Charles the Good, the exiled son of St. Canute of Denmark. Charles rendered himself greatly beloved by the people by his piety and benevolence, and by

¹ While the king was in this city, Baldwin advanced boldly to the gate, into which he thrust his lance, in proof of his having been there. He turned all the deer in the king's park loose for a frolic.

his support of the low-born and of the poor against the oppressions of the nobility and of the rich. During a great famine in 1126, he acted nobly, but with rigid severity. He daily distributed with his own hands several thousand loaves to the poor, and on discovering the excessive extortion practiced in the sale of corn by a powerful family at Brugges, whose chief representatives were the provost Bretulf and his nephew Burkhard, he ordered their great magazines to be thrown open: this proceeding drew upon him the hatred of this great and influential family, and although he treated them with the greatest lenity, and even, when they took up arms against him, forgave them, he was attacked at Brugges, when engaged in giving alms, by Burkhard, who, advancing toward him disguised as a beggar and backed by several other conspirators, deprived him with one blow of the arm which he extended toward him with a gift. He died of the wound in 1127. He was canonized by the church. His murder was fearfully revenged by the people. Burkhard, who had fled in the disguise of a monk, was discovered and put to the rack, and several of the other conspirators were mutilated, and cast headlong from towers. The degree of power gained by the commonalty in Flanders dates from this period, and Charles appears as the first citizen prince who took part with the people against the aristocracy. He left no issue. Baldwin von Hennegau, whose family had formerly been deprived of Flanders by Robert the Friscian, now sought to regain possession of that country; but the king of France, its feudal lord, deeming it more politic to bestow it upon William, duke of Normandy (who had been expelled from his duchy by his uncle, Henry I. of England), in the hope of his being able to regain Normandy, and to do him good service against England, to which he unwillingly saw Normandy annexed, he was refused. Baldwin, who, moreover, ravaged Flanders and had burned a hundred people alive in a church at Oudenarde, was supported in his claim by the valiant Count William von Ypern, Count Godfred von Lowen, and by the English, who, on the inva-

sion of the country by the king of France and William of Normandy, retired. William quickly made himself unpopular by the imposition of heavy taxes with the view of raising funds for the conquest of Normandy, and, it may be, also for that of England. Lille, St. Omer, and Ghent revolted, and the flame of sedition rapidly spread throughout the whole country, and, as in the days of Richilda, the national animosity of the Germans against their French hege broke out with redoubled violence. The German party, at whose head in former days stood Robert the Friscian, was now led by Dietrich, count of Alsace, whose mother, Gertrude, being daughter to Robert the Friscian, gave him a right, equal to that formerly possessed by Charles the Good, against the French. Dietrich came into the country with merely three followers, but the people flocked around him in such numbers that he quickly found himself at the head of an army. Louis, king of France, marching to the assistance of the Normans, Dietrich was compelled to take refuge in Allost, where he was besieged by William. The death of this prince, who was shot in 1128, dissipated the hopes of the French monarch, who contented himself with receiving the homage of Dietrich, whom he acknowledged as duke of Flanders. Dietrich pursued a system similar to that of Charles the Good, only on wider principles, and rendered himself universally beloved. During his long reign of forty years, he laid the groundwork of the popular rights and privileges which, at a later period, rendered the Dutch so justly celebrated. It was to him that the cities were indebted for their Keuren, or charters, which brought in their train commerce and art, and rendered Flanders the most flourishing of the German states. Dietrich visited the Holy Land four times, as much for the sake of entering into commercial relations with the East as for the purpose of combating the infidels and of wedding Sibylla, the daughter of Fulco, king of Jerusalem; and Flanders was, in consequence of her relation with the East, for which she was in the commencement indebted to Dietrich, and which long

endured, the first Western state that introduced the arts and manufactures of Greece and of the Orient into Germany. During Dietrich's absence in the Holy Land, Baldwin von Hennegau again invaded Flanders, but was repulsed by Sibylla, A.D. 1149. Dietrich revenged this aggression in the following year by overrunning his territory, but, after gaining a bloody victory, peace was secured by the alliance of his daughter Margaretha with Baldwin, the son of his opponent. He was, some time after this occurrence, once more compelled to take up arms in defense of free trade against his restless neighbor, Count Florens III. of Holland, whom he defeated, took prisoner, and compelled to sign a commercial treaty.

In 1136, Lothar revisited Italy, in order to curb the insolence of Roger, who, besides inheriting the whole of the territory held by the Normans, had taken the title of king of Apulia and Sicily. One of the petty lords of the country blocking up the mountain pass, Lothar stormed his rocky fastness, and put the garrison to the sword. The plan of this campaign was to avoid the siege of the large cities, and to march directly against Roger. The emperor and Conrad von Hohenstaufen, who, in his right as duke of Swabia, bore the banner of the empire, turned to the left, Henry the Proud to the right, and, marching on both shores of the sea, reunited their forces at Benevento. Amalfi, where the Pandects (laws of ancient Rome) were discovered among the booty, was taken, but Salerno, Roger's seat of government, and Naples, which was still under that of Greece, were vainly besieged, and the German soldiery, weary of the protracted campaign, their term of service having expired, became impatient to return home, and even conspired against the life of the pope, Innocent II., whom they regarded as the only obstacle against the conclusion of peace. Lothar's sickness also conduced to hasten his return to Germany, which he was fated never again to behold, being overtaken by death at Breitenwang, in the Oberinnthal, where the low peasant's hut in which he expired may still be seen by the traveler.

He was buried at Königsutter, a town in Brunswick that owed its rise to him. He also built Kaiserslautern on the Rhine, so named owing to that circumstance (1137).

Lothar's policy in regard to the great vassals of the crown was as little worthy of an emperor as his condescension to the pope. In order to secure the succession to the ducal throne of Saxony to his son-in-law, the duke of Bavaria, he passed a law to the effect that fiefs rendered vacant by the extinction of the family by whom they were held, should, for the future, instead of lapsing to the crown, fall to the next of kin. The gain was entirely on the side of the aristocracy. The house of Zähringen, which, after the degradation of the Hohenstaufen, came into note in the South, gave a duke, Conrad, to Burgundy. A Count Ulrich von Ortenburg was created duke of Carinthia, where the perpetual change of dukes had afforded an opportunity to the petty counts of asserting their independence. Around the fortress of Steyer, which had been erected by a Count Ottocar, during the reign of Conrad I., the frontier of Steyer or Styria had gradually formed; around Cilly, where a family of Thuringian counts, connected with that of Weimar and Orlamund, had settled, spread the Windian frontier; around the fortress of Crain, that of Carniola; around Gortz (Gorice, Goritzia) the county of the same name. The Babenbergers still flourished in Austria. The most powerful of that family was Henry the Proud, the Welf, who, besides Bavaria, held the lands of the Countess Matilda, and, on the demise of the emperor, inherited Saxony. The house of Wurtemberg also, at this period, owed its rise to the favor of the Hohenstaufen.¹ The Slavian frontiers had acquired still

¹ Frederick von Stauffen, the One-eyed, sent one of his vassals, Johann von Wurtemberg, a young man whom a handsome person and lively parts rendered a general favorite, to Rudolf von Zähringen, in order to demand his daughter in marriage for his son Frederick, afterward the emperor Barbarossa. Rudolf jokingly asking the handsome ambassador "Why he did not court the damsel for himself?" Frederick took the matter seriously, and found another bride for his son, upon which Johann actually received the hand of the Princess Anna, an alliance that promoted the future greatness of his house. See Crusius, Steinhöfer, etc. This fact has been treated as fabulous by later authors, but without due grounds.

greater importance, and were united under two noble houses, that of Ballenstädt (the present house of Anhalt) and that of Wettin (the present house of Saxony). The house of Ballenstädt was also named that of the Ascanier, from Esico, their ancestor, in the tenth century, or from Ascharia (Aschersleben), their place of execution. The ancient, but now far more extensive, frontier of Gero was then exclusively known as the march of Brandenburg, which, after the extinction of the noble house of Stade (whose last descendant, Count Rudolf, inherited the county of Stade, but was killed in 1145, during an insurrection of the free peasantry in Ditmarchen), was bestowed upon Count Conrad von Plotzke, who, dying in 1133, without issue, the mere was granted by Lothar to Albrecht, Count von Ballenstädt, his relative, surnamed the Handsome, or the Bear, on account of his wild valor. Meissen remained in the possession of Conrad von Wettin. The broad lands to the east were thus united under two chiefs (1136), in whose immediate neighborhood was Louis, Landgrave of Thuringia and Hesse, on whom the emperor bestowed, in 1130, Thuringia in fee, independent of Saxony, to which she had been, for a considerable period, annexed, as a subordinate county.

The Wends, at this period, still retained their freedom, Henry, the Christian prince of the Obotrites, having merely exacted tribute from them during his expedition to the island of Rugen. They were, moreover, still pagans. Henry's sons striving for the sovereignty, and being both deprived of life, Lothar gave the Obotritan crown in fee to Canute the Dane, whose fall was greatly contributed to by Adolf, count of Holstein, of the house of Schauenburg, who aimed at independence, and (justly) refused to countenance Danish influence in Germany. Przibizlaw, a son of Buthue, Gottschalk's brother and Henry's uncle, seized the country in the vicinity of Lubeck, and Nielot, another Wend, took possession of Mecklenburg, where his descendants reign at the present day. In Pomerania, Wratislaw, who had been taken prisoner in his youth and baptized by the Saxons,

headed the people against the Poles. —From him descended the future dukes of Pomerania. After a long struggle, he submitted to Boleslaw of Poland, and the whole of Pomerania was Christianized.

Peter Wlast, the Dane, the possessor of immense treasures¹ who became the minister of Boleslaw, the aged and valiant king of Poland, settled at this period in Silesia, where he was the first who introduced German arts, and civilization. He built a castle on the Zobtenberg,² which stands in isolated grandeur in the midst of the apparently interminable plain, and several churches. He retained his office under Wladislaw, the son and successor of Boleslaw, but having, by an inconsiderate speech, drawn upon himself the enmity of Agnes, Wladislaw's German wife, the daughter of Leopold of Austria, he was by her order suddenly seized and deprived of his tongue and his eyesight, while solemnizing the marriage of his daughter with a Serbian prince.

PART XI

THE SWABIAN DYNASTY

CXLVIII. *Conrad the Third*

THE great struggle between church and state, the pope and the emperor, had now commenced, and centuries were to pass away before its termination. On the one side stood the pope, supported by France and by an un-German faction in Germany, which up to this period had been the Saxon one, but, since Saxony had fallen to the Bavarian Welf, was denominated the faction of the Welfs,

¹ His father, Count William, is said to have seized the treasures of the Danish king. Peter was, probably, a rich pirate.

² Gora sobotka, the holy mountain, which, even in pagan times, was probably considered sacred, Sobutky signifying "sacred fire."

or, as they were called in Italy, Guelphs. On the other side stood the emperor, who, besides defending the prerogatives of the state against the encroachments of the church, sought more especially to uphold the interests and honor of the German nation against the Italians and the French, in pursuance of which he was but too often treacherously abandoned by his own party in Germany. After the extinction of the Salic dynasty and the short reign of Lothar, the Staufens mounted the throne, on which they long sat, and, naming their race after the Allod of Waiblingen in the Remsthal, which they had inherited from the last of the Salic emperors, the name of the Waiblinger, or, in Italian, Ghibellines, was gradually fixed upon the imperial faction.

The election of a successor to the throne was appointed to take place at Mayence, in 1138; the Waiblinger, however, anticipated the Welfs, in the most unconstitutional manner, and proclaimed Conrad von Hohenstaufen emperor at Coblenz. Handsome in his person, and replete with life and vigor, of undaunted and well-tried valor, Conrad stood superior to all the princes of his time, and seemed by nature fitted for command. His election was, moreover, favored by the decease of Adalbert of Mayence, and by the dread with which the princes of the empire beheld the rising power of the Welfs, which it was Conrad's first aim to break. His faint-hearted opponent, staggered by his unexpected attack, delivered up the crown jewels; the Saxons, and even Lothar's widow, submitted to him; but, on his demanding from Henry the cession of Saxony, under pretense of the illegal union of two duchies under one chief, the duke rebelled, and was put out of the ban of the empire, Bavaria was given to Leopold of Austria, and Saxony to Albrecht the Bear. The ancient feud was instantly renewed, in 1139. The Welfs possessed numerous Allods and fiefs in Swabia and Bavaria, which, supported by Welf, Henry's brother, defended the cause of their liege, while Henry himself carried on the struggle in Saxony. Conrad von Zähringen, at the same time, rose in favor of the Welfs, and the emperor, sending against him

his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa (the son of Frederick the One-eyed), who succeeded in getting possession of Zurich, took the field in person, and invaded the lands of the Welfs. It was in 1141, when besieging the Welf in Weinsberg, that the Germans for the first time changed their war cry, "Eyrie Eleison," for the party cries of "The Welf!" "The Waiblinger!" After enduring a long siege, Welf was compelled to surrender, Conrad granting free egress to the women, with whatever they were able to carry. The duchess, accordingly, took her husband, Welf, on her shoulders, and all the women of the city following her example, they proceeded out of the city gates, to the great astonishment of the emperor, who, struck with admiration at this act of heroism, permitted the garrison to withdraw, exclaiming to those who attempted to dissuade him, "An emperor keeps his word!"¹ The feud was put an end to by the deaths of Henry and Leopold, who, among other places, had destroyed Ratisbon. The son of the former, Henry the Lion, received Saxony, which Albrecht was, consequently, compelled to cede; in return for which, Brandenburg, which had formerly, like Thuringia, been annexed to the duchy of Saxony, was declared independent. Leopold's brother, Henry Sammirgott, a surname he derived from his motto, married the widow of Henry the Proud, the mother of Henry the Lion, and became duke of Bavaria. Welf, the only malcontent, leagued with Bela, king of Hungary, and Roger of Naples, and continued to carry on a petty feud. Leopold was defeated, in 1146, by the Hungarians on the Leitha. In the same year, Conrad made an unsuccessful inroad into Poland, for the purpose of restoring the duke, Wladislaw, who had been expelled by his subjects on account of his German wife, who continually incited him against his brothers, and treated the Poles with contempt.

Geisa II., king of Hungary, probably with the view of

¹ According to the oldest chroniclers, St. Panteleon (Eccard I. 931) and the Chron. Weingart. bei Leibnit. ser. rer. Brunsw. I. 789, Welf and his duchess were, at that time, not at Weinsberg.

protecting his southern frontiers, and at the same time of accustoming his wild subjects to German manners and customs, allowed Saxon emigrants to settle in Siebenburgen. In 1160, they founded Hermannstadt, and have, to the present day, preserved their ancient language, customs and privileges. In 1222, King Andreas granted them great privileges; they remained separate as a Saxon nation from the natives, paid merely a small tax, which they laid upon themselves, and elected a count of their own nation, who, in sign of his newly-imposed rank, was presented with a banner, a saber, and a club. Their provincial diets were held in the open field.

About this time, the religious enthusiasm, which the crusades had so greatly tended to rouse, rapidly spread; the German prophets, nevertheless, found a greater number of followers in France than in Germany. Ulrich of Ratisbon became the reformer of the celebrated monastery of Clugny, the pride of the monkish world, and the pattern after which all other monasteries formed, or rather reformed themselves. St. Bruno of Cologne founded the severe order of the Carthusians,¹ who bound themselves by the strictest vow completely to renounce the world; and Norbert of Xanten,² the equally strict order of the Prämonstratenser, in the wild vale of Premontre. While these pious Germans promulgated the doctrine of worshiping God in solitude to the mountaineers of France, Count Hugo von Blankenburg, a Saxon, the abbot of the convent of St. Victor, in Paris, known as Hugh

¹ Near Grenoble, in a wilderness, known before this period as the Carthause.

² A knight in the army of the emperor Henry IV., who was converted by a stroke of lightning, which struck him from his horse.—Other celebrated enthusiasts of this age were Eberhard, brother to Count Adolf von Altena, and Mark, who was outlawed by Lothar as a partisan of the Staufen, and being struck on the forehead with a battle-ax while fighting with the count of Limburg, instantly changed his opinions, and fled, disguised as a serf, to France, where he was afterward discovered as a swineherd.—In the country around Treves, Rochelin the hermit dwelt for fourteen years naked in the forest. The Countess Ida von Toggenburg attained still greater celebrity in Switzerland. A raven flew away with her wedding ring, which was found and worn by a huntsman. The count perceiving the ring, believed his wife to be unfaithful to him, and cast her from a window down a precipice. She escaped unhurt, and lived long after in seclusion.

de St. Victoire, 1140, formed this doctrine into an ingenious philosophical system, and invented scientific mysticism, or Divine mysteries, which were further amplified by Honorius of Augst, near Basel (*Augustodunensis*), and by Rupert, abbot of Duiz, near Cologne. With these three fathers of mysticism, who gave utterance to the spirit with which the Middle Ages were so deeply imbued, was associated Hildegarde, Countess von Sponheim, and abbess of Bingen, who was the oracle of the pope and of the emperor. She died at a great age, in 1198. She and her sister Elisabeth had visions, during which they appeared to be influenced by a sort of poetical inspiration. While the Germans were thus buried in poetical mysticism, the French and Italians constructed a new system of scholastic divinity, the result of a comparison of the doctrines of the ancient Greek philosophers—for instance, those of Aristotle—with the received tenets of the church, all whose ordinances were defended by philosophical subtleties, which the free-thinkers labored to confute. Abelard, the freedom of whose opinions was quickly adopted by the heretics (*Ketzer*, *Katharer*, *purifiers*) in Germany, flourished at this period in France. He was the most celebrated among the free-thinkers of his times.

The Roman Church endeavored, from the commencement, to divide the heretics into different sects, and to give them different names, as if they, in opposition to the united church, could merely have confused and contradictory notions; but the heretics were, from the commencement, extremely simple, and united in their views, which aimed at nothing less than the restoration of Christianity in its original purity, genuine piety, not merely the mock devotion of church ceremonies, real brotherly love in Christ, not the slavish subordination in which the laity was held by the despotic priesthood, whose moral corruption unfitted them for the sacred office they filled. This was the doctrine taught by Tanchelin at Antwerp and at Bonn, and for which he was put to death, his conversion having been vainly attempted by St. Norbert, who had been presented with the archbishopric of Magde.

burg (1126). This heresy afterward took a political character in Italy. The Romans, who had long struggled against their chains, revolted against Innocentius II., who had entered into an offensive alliance against them with their ancient enemy, the neighboring town of Tivoli. In the heat of the insurrection, Arnold of Brescia, a monk, the disciple of Abelard, promulgated his heretical doctrines, which threatened to hurl the tiara from the pontiff's brow. This man preached a universal reform, the reduction of the church to its primitive state of simplicity and poverty, and the restoration in the state of the freedom and equality of the ancient Grecian and Roman republics, at the same time that St. Bernhard was raising a crusade, in which the religious enthusiasm of the age was carried to its highest pitch; and thus did the adverse opinions of so many centuries meet, as it were, in the persons of these two men. Arnold expelled the pope from Rome, and restored the ancient republican form of government. A Roman, Jordanus, was elected consul. The pope, Eugene III., after vainly entreating for assistance from Conrad III., who was sufficiently acquainted with Italy to be well aware of the futility of an expedition to Rome, fled into France, to St. Bernhard, in order to aid him in the more important scheme of raising a general crusade. He returned to Rome, whence he contrived to expel Arnold, in 1149. Heresy spread also throughout Switzerland. Arnold of Brescia resided for some time at Constance and Zurich. The shepherds of Schwyz carried on a long dispute with the insolent abbot of Einsiedeln, who attempted to deprive them of a pasturage, the ancient free inheritance of their fathers, in defense of which they were aided by the neighboring herdsmen of Uri and Unterwalden, and although, in 1144, excommunicated by the abbot, by the bishop of Constance, and put out of the ban of the empire by the nobility, they refused to yield (being probably infected with Arnold's free and bold opinions), and, for eleven years, asserted their independence, without the priests or nobles venturing to attack them in their mountain strong-

holds; a foretoken of the Swiss confederation of more modern times.—About the same date, 1139, the inhabitants of Gröningen in East Friesland were at feud with the bishop of Utrecht, whose pretensions endangered their freedom. They were defeated, but, notwithstanding, defended their liberty against Henry the Lion, whom they beat from the field.—The Ditmarsî belonged to the county of Stade, and, like the West Frisicians, had fallen under the temporal government of the dukes. The death of Rudolf, the last of the counts of Stade, whose crown cost him his life, happened during this heretical outbreak (1143). After this, the Ditmarsî maintained their independence for the space of five years, but, less protected, like the more fortunate Swiss, by their mountains, they were defeated and reduced to submission by the imperial forces (1148). They afterward fell successively under the rule of the bishop of Bremen, the counts of Holstein, and the king of Denmark, against all of whom they repeatedly rebelled.

CXLIX. *The Crusade of Conrad the Third*

THE bad state of affairs in the East, meanwhile, necessitated another crusade. The crown of Jerusalem had passed from the house of Lothringia to that of Anjou. The settlers in the Holy Land chiefly consisted of French, who, merely intent upon plunder and conquest, neglected the cause of religion. They had, moreover, married Arabian and Turkish women, and their descendants, the Pullanes, devoid of their father's energy, and inheriting the soft effeminacy of their mothers, were educated amid the intrigues of Eastern harems. These Pullanes, at the present period, formed the nobility of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and of the principalities of Antioch and Tripoli, and, as they had never visited the West, the new crusaders, by whom they feared to be deprived of their possessions, became objects of general suspicion; and to this cause may be attributed the failure of this crusade.

Baldwin II. had been succeeded by his son-in-law, Fulke

d'Anjou, an old and incapable prince.¹ Edessa had been governed by the wicked Joscelin, who was thrown into prison. The noble-spirited Pontius of Tripoli had been killed, and Raimund, the valiant son of the dastardly Troubadour, William of Poitou, who had seized the sovereignty in Antioch, was the only one who, since 1136, continued to honor the banner of the cross. Fulke, defeated by the great sultan Zengis, was for a short time assisted by Dietrich of Flanders, who, like the rest of his countrymen, soon returned to his native country (1138). Fulke was thrown from his horse when hunting, and died (1143). He was succeeded by his son, Baldwin III., a boy twelve years of age, and, during the following year, 1144, Zengis took the important city of Edessa, which had long served Jerusalem and Antioch as a bulwark against Bagdad. The city was at first spared, but an insurrection taking place among the Christian inhabitants, thirty thousand of them were cut to pieces. A fearful storm that burst over Jerusalem, during which the church of the holy sepulcher was struck with lightning, was also viewed by the devout as a visitation from heaven on account of the sins of the Pullanes.

The fall of Edessa filled the whole of Christendom with consternation, and the loss of the holy sepulcher was everywhere prognosticated. The pope, Eugene III., a haughty and ambitious man, formed the scheme of assembling the emperor, the kings and princes of Europe beneath the banner of the church, and of placing himself as a shepherd at their head. St. Bernhard traveled through France, emulating his predecessor, Peter the Hermit, in the warmth of his appeal to the people. On the Rhine, a priest named Radulf again incited the people against the Jews, who were assassinated in great numbers in almost all the Rhenish cities. St. Bernhard, on his arrival in Germany, opposed Radulf, whom he compelled to return to his convent, and, aided by St. Hilde-

¹ In order to conceal the bad shape of his feet, he wore long-pointed shoes, which before long became the fashion.

garde, the Velleda of the times, persuaded multitudes to follow the crusade. The people, in their enthusiasm, tore his clothes off, in order to sew the pieces on their shoulders in the form of a cross. At Frankfort-on-the-Maine he was so closely pressed that the emperor was obliged to carry him away from his admirers like a child on his arm. At first Conrad was unwilling to visit the Holy Land, on account of the unsettled state of his authority in Germany, but he was forced to yield to circumstances, and, while presiding over the diet at Spire, was presented with the cross by St. Bernhard, the sign of his vow, in which he was also joined by his nephew Frederick, Henry Sammirgott, the rebellious Welf, Ladislav of Bohemia, Berthold, Count von Andechs, Ottocar of Styria, and several bishops, among whom was the emperor's brother, Otto, bishop of Freysingen, to whom posterity is indebted for an account of this crusade.

Henry the Lion, Albrecht the Bear, all the Saxon nobility, and Conrad von Zähringen, who had no inclination to accompany the emperor to the Holy Land, turned their arms, aided by their Danish allies, against the pagan Wends. A reconciliation had shortly before taken place between them and Adolf of Holstein. Niclot attacked and destroyed Lubeck, but spared all the Holsteiners, and, after gallantly defending his fortress of Dubin on the Sea against the superior Saxon forces, was at length induced to embrace Christianity. Adolf, a prince equally wise and valiant, was attacked by his neighbors, the jealous Danes, whom he had the good fortune to repel (1148). Denmark was, at this period, governed by three brothers, Valdemar, Sueno, and Canute, the last of whom leaguings with Adolf against Sueno, Etheler the Ditmarsch, the hereditary foe of the counts of Holstein, joined Sueno. Adolf was victorious, and Etheler was slain. A quarrel afterward broke out between Adolf and Canute, and the latter was also beaten. The Ascomanni, a piratical horde in the Baltic, composed of people of every nation, took advantage of the confusion to carry on their depredations. The greatest anarchy prevailed. Canute a second time de-

feated Sueno, who in his turn defeated the Ascomanni. Germany no longer viewed Denmark with apprehension.— Henry the Lion, after making peace with Niclot, contented himself with the destruction of the pagan temples at Rhetra and Oldenburg. He invested the bishop Vicelin with the latter place, bestowing it upon him in fee, as if he united in his own person the prerogatives of both the emperor and the pope. He also invested the count Henry with Ratzeburg,¹ after compelling Przibizlaw, who was less warlike than Niclot, to surrender his lands. Albrecht the Bear took Brandenburg, which was desperately defended by Jatzco, one of Przibizlaw's nephews, by storm; and the whole of the territory beneath his jurisdiction took henceforth the name of Brandenburg.

In Spain the religious war against the Moors was carried on with great fury. In 1147, a great fleet bearing Friscian, Flemish, and Colognese crusaders headed by Arnulf von Aerschott, landed, when crossing the sea to Palestine, on the coast of Portugal, and understanding that Alfonso the Great, king of Spain, was, at that conjuncture, laying siege to the city of Lisbon, which was then densely populated by Moors, they instantly offered him their assistance, and historians relate that the Spaniards had already retired from before the city walls when the Germans appeared, and bearing all before them, soon made themselves masters of the place. Alfonso, in the excess of his gratitude, divided the enormous booty taken in ransacking the city among the crusaders, who continued their voyage and reached the Holy Land in safety.

In the spring of 1147, Conrad III. assembled an immense multitude at Ratisbon, and marched them along the Danube into Greece, where, notwithstanding the friendly reception of the emperor, Manuel, many untoward events took place. Some Germans who were carousing in the suburbs of Phil-

¹ This count had, some time previously, been set up in opposition to Adolf of Holstein, who, retaining his position, it became necessary to make compensation to Henry. The county of Ratzeburg comprised the whole of western Poland.

ippopolis were joined by a juggler, who, seating himself among them, placed a snake which had been taught tricks on one of the cups. The Germans, imagining him a sorcerer and skilled in the black art, instantly killed him, upon which a desperate fray ensued between them and the Greeks, and the whole country was laid waste. In the beautiful vale of Chörobacha, the German camp was suddenly inundated in the middle of the night by a rain-spout, which washed the tents and numbers of the men into the sea. In Constantinople the Germans destroyed a pleasure-garden belonging to the emperor, and the perpetrators of this wanton act of mischief were cut to pieces by the mercenaries, without any attention being paid to the circumstance by Conrad. On reaching Asia Minor, the army divided, Otto von Freysingen marching to the left along the sea-coast, while the emperor led the main force inland. The scarcity of provisions caused great suffering to both armies; the Greeks on their approach fled into the fortified towns, and the starving pilgrims were merely able to procure scanty and sometimes poisoned food at an enormous price. The Greeks even confessed that the emperor Manuel permitted them to sell poisoned flour. It was no unusual practice for them to take the gold offered in exchange for their provisions by the honest Germans, and to run off without giving anything in return. Conrad, nevertheless, continued to push on, but was treacherously led by the Greek guides into a Turkish ambuscade. During the previous year Zengis had been murdered by an assassin; but the petty princes of Asia Minor combined against the Germans, and Conrad's army, after wandering for three days without food amid the pathless mountains around Iconium, was suddenly attacked and routed by the Turks. The horrors of this dreadful day, October 26, 1147, were still further increased by an eclipse of the sun. Conrad, who had received two severe arrow wounds, now attempted to rescue the remainder of his army from their perilous situation by an orderly retreat, but the brave Count Bernard von Plötzke, who brought up the rear, was deprived of the whole

of his men by the arrows of their Turkish pursuers. The arrival of Louis VII. of France, at this critical moment, was of little avail. The French merely mocked the unfortunate Germans, and Conrad, racked by ridicule and disappointment, lay sick at Constantinople. The French, however, did not escape. Their army was, as usual, encumbered with a number of women. The pious king had brought with him his young wife, Eleonore,¹ or Alienore, and a numerous suite. Notwithstanding the politeness of their reception by Manuel, they no sooner reached Asia Minor than a fate similar to that which had befallen the Germans awaited them. The Greeks closed the gates of their cities against them, poisoned the provisions, and treacherously delivered them to the Turks. Weary, starving, and faint, they were easily dispersed and slain, and Louis, after defending himself on a rock against the whole Turkish army, was taken prisoner. He was afterward set at liberty. Otto von Freysingen reached Antioch with the remnant of his weakened forces, while the Germans who marched under Conrad, and the French under Louis, merely found their way to Atalia on the sea-coast, a desolate abode, where hunger and pestilence alone awaited them. The leaders went by sea to Antioch. The common soldiery were, for the greater part, starved to death; three thousand of the French went over to the Turks and embraced Mohammedanism, and the plague spreading among the treacherous Greek inhabitants, the city, completely deserted, sank in ruins.²

Antioch was, at that time, governed by Raimund, Eleonore's uncle, by whom she and her husband were received with great magnificence. The manners of this half-oriental court completely corrupted this beautiful and unprincipled

¹ One of these dames, who rode in golden boots, and who probably was Eleonore, or, as she was called, "hot Alienore," herself, particularly struck the Easterns, by whom she is mentioned as "the golden-footed fair one."

² The Greeks, while thus aiding the downfall of the Christian empire in the East, unconsciously paved the way for their own. Assisted by Conrad and Louis, Manuel might long have kept the Turks at bay; by his narrow-minded policy and treachery, he deprived himself of his sole support.

princess, who, forgetful of the sacred object of the crusade, and heedless of the sufferings of the people, wantonly sported with young cavaliers (a handsome Turk is mentioned as one of her most favored lovers), and, protected by Raimund, openly braved the authority of her husband. Louis at length succeeded in secretly carrying her off to Accon, where the emperor Conrad, who had arrived by sea from Constantinople, had, with the remainder of the German pilgrims, been received by the young king, Baldwin III. Edessa being irreparably lost, it was concerted in a council held by all the princes present that an expedition should be undertaken against Damascus, which, it was further agreed, should be bestowed upon Count Dietrich of Flanders, who had just arrived; and, after paying their devotions at the holy sepulcher, the whole body of the pilgrims took the field, and a brilliant victory was gained at Rabna, Conrad and his Germans forcing their way through the retreating French, and falling with irresistible fury on the now panic-struck enemy. Conrad is said to have cut a Turk so completely asunder at one blow that his head, arms, and the upper part of his body fell to the ground. The Pullanes, jealous of the fortune of the count of Flanders, now prince of Damascus, were easily bribed¹ by the Turks to betray the pilgrims, whom they persuaded to abandon their safe position, and then broke their plighted word; upon which the emperor Conrad, and Louis of France, justly enraged at their treachery, raised the siege of Damascus and returned to their respective dominions.² And thus was another brilliant enterprise doomed to terminate in shame and dishonor. The Pullanes, like the Greeks, hastened their own ruin. Blind to their own interests, they senselessly neglected the opportunity that now presented itself, on the death of Zengis, their most formidable foe, and

¹ The money they received was afterward discovered to be of base metal—a fitting reward for their treason.

² Louis divorced Eleonore, on account of her repeated infidelities, and she instantly married Henry Plantagenet, king of England and duke of Normandy, as had been previously arranged between them. Incessant domestic broils embittered the last days of this monarch. Eleonore was the mother of Richard Cœur de Lion.

during the minority of Saladin the Great, for extending and fortifying the kingdom of Jerusalem, whose downfall now rapidly approached.

Welf, who had hurried home before the rest of the pilgrims, had again conspired, with Roger of Naples, against Conrad; and Henry the Lion, deeming the moment favorable, on account of the recent discomfiture of the emperor, openly claimed Bavaria as his own. Conrad hastened back to Germany and held a diet at Spire. His son Henry reduced the Welf to submission, but shortly afterward expired in the bloom of youth. The emperor did not long survive him; he died at Bamberg (according to popular report, of poison administered to him by Roger), when on the point of invading Poland for the purpose of replacing Wladislaw on the throne (1152). The double eagle was introduced by him into the arms of the empire. It was taken from those of the Greek emperor, by whom it was borne as the symbol of the ancient Eastern and Western Roman empire.

CL. *Frederick Barbarossa*

THE claim of Frederick, Conrad's nephew, to the crown, was received without opposition. The jealous vassals of the empire seemed under the influence of a charm. Even the insolent Welfs bent in lowly submission. There was little union between the heads of this inimical and illustrious house, Welf the elder of Upper Swabia, and Henry the Lion of Saxony, the latter of whom was, moreover, at variance with his stepfather, Henry of Babenberg, who withheld from him his paternal inheritance, Bavaria. In 1152, Frederick was elected emperor at Frankfort on the Maine; and crowned with ancient solemnity at Aix-la-Chapelle. This election was the first that took place in the presence of the city delegates. Frederick publicly swore to increase justice, to curb wrong, to protect and extend the empire. On quitting the cathedral, a vassal threw himself at his feet in the hope of obtaining pardon on this solemn occasion for his

guilt, but the emperor, mindful of his oath, refused to practice mercy instead of justice.

Frederick was remarkable for the handsome and manly appearance, and the genuine German cast of countenance, which distinguished the whole of the Staufen family, and powerfully conduced to their popularity. Shortly cropped fair hair, curling closely over a broad and massive forehead, blue eyes with a quick and penetrating glance, and well-curved lips that lent an expression of benevolence to his fine features, a fair white skin, a well-formed and muscular person, combined with perfect simplicity in dress and manners, present a pleasing portrait of this noble chevalier. His beard, that inclined to red, gained for him the Italian sobriquet of Barbarossa. Ever mindful of the greatness of his destiny, Frederick was at once firm and persevering, a deep politician and a wise statesman. To guarantee the internal unity and the external security of the state was his preponderating idea; and regardless of the animosity with which the German princes secretly sought to undermine the imperial authority, he directed his principal forces against his most dangerous enemy, the pope, and rightly concluded that he could alone overcome him in Italy. Those who charge him with having neglected the affairs of Germany, and with having devoted himself entirely to those of Italy, on the grounds that he would have acted more wisely had he confined himself to Germany, forget the times in which he lived. The pope would never have suffered him to remain at peace in Germany, he would ever have stirred up fresh enemies around him, and Frederick had no other choice than, as a good general, to carry on the war in his adversary's territory, and to direct his whole force against the enemy's center. The peaceful government of Germany was alone to be secured by the imposition of shackles on the pope.

By giving the crown of Denmark in fee to Sueno, Frederick at once terminated the strife between him and his two brothers, Canute and Waldemar, and secured the northern frontier of the empire. The allegiance of Henry the Lion

being confirmed by a promise of the duchy of Bavaria in reversion, he dismissed, without further ceremony, the papal legates, who interfered in the election of the bishops, over the Alps, and assembled a powerful army, with the intention of quickly following in their footsteps. When he was encamped on the Bodensee, the ancient cents or cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, marched under the banner of the Count von Lenzburg, their governor, to do him feudal service in the field.

While the emperor was assembling his forces at Constance, ambassadors from the city of Lodi threw themselves at his feet, complaining of the oppression of their city by Milan, whose inhabitants affected the papal party. Frederick commanded the Milanese to make restitution to their neighbors, but they tore his letter in sign of contempt. Frederick now crossed the Alps, and, planting the standard of the empire in the vale of Ronceval, near Piacenza, in 1154, summoned all the Italian vassals to do their bounden service as royal body-guard in the field, and declared all who refused to appear to have forfeited their fiefs. The Ghibellines obeyed the summons; the Guelphs treated it with contempt. Milan sent an open defiance, but Frederick, too prudent to attempt the subjugation of this well-fortified and densely populated city by force, sought to weaken her by gradually occupying the towns with which she was in league. The importance of the cities in Upper Italy had been greatly increased by the crusades, by the consequent extension of their commercial relations with the East, and also by the absence of the ruling family since the reign of the Countess Matilda; the warlike nobility of the country had, moreover, assumed the right of citizenship in the cities. The richest commercial cities were Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, while Milan, situated in the heart of Lombardy, was far superior to them all in military power, and had become the focus of the papal faction. The cities of Rosate, Cairo, Asti, fell one after another into the hands of the victorious emperor, who, in order to strike terror into his opponents, reduced the

strongly fortified city of Tortona, which had long resisted the siege, to ashes, and leveled the ground on which it had stood. At Pavia he seized the iron crown of Lombardy, and entered into a negotiation with the pope, Hadrian IV., for the performance of the ceremony of coronation. Rome was still convulsed by two rival factions, one in favor of the pope, the other composed of the heretical republican disciples of Arnold of Brescia. The dread with which the success and popularity of Arnold impressed the pope rendered him more docile toward the emperor, who little foresaw of what a powerful weapon he voluntarily deprived himself, by persecuting Arnold, a man as truly great as he was unfortunate, instead of aiding him to the utmost in carrying out his plans for the complete reformation of the church. When the ambassadors from the citizens of Rome entered his presence, and spoke to him of ancient Roman virtue, he replied to them contemptuously, "Ancient Rome and ancient Roman virtue no longer dwell with you, her effeminate and perfidious children, but with us, her hardy and true-hearted sons." The enthusiasm created by Arnold of Brescia appeared to him merely an Italian comedy, the contemptible shadow of a temporal republic, instead of, as in fact it was, the germ of a great ecclesiastical reform. He, consequently, permitted Arnold's execution, and this luckless reformer was burned alive at sunrise before the gates of the city, to whose inhabitants he had preached religious and civil liberty. Rome trembled before the emperor. The pope solemnly placed the crown upon his brow in the church of St. Peter, and the emperor, in return, held his stirrup, an action, the symbolical interpretation of which signified that spiritual power could not retain its empire without the aid of the temporal. Frederick also caused the picture representing Lothar's acceptance of the crown in fee from the pope, which was publicly exhibited in the Lateran, to be burned, and expressed his displeasure at the artful method by which the church falsely sought to extend her authority, in the following remarkable words: "God has raised the church by means of the state;

the church, nevertheless, will overthrow the state. She has commenced by painting, and from painting has proceeded to writing. Writing will gain the mastery over all, if we permit it. Efface your pictures and retake your documents, that peace may be preserved between the state and the church." The Romans, in the meantime, unable to forget their long-hoped-for republic, were maddened by rage, and the ceremony of the coronation was scarcely over when an insurrection broke out, and Frederick, whose horse fell beneath him, was alone saved by the courage of Henry the Lion. A horrid tumult, in which multitudes were butchered, ensued, but was finally quelled by the Germans. In order to punish the insolence of the Normans, Frederick took the field against William, the son of Roger; but his army being wasted by pestilence, he was forced to retreat through his enemies, who in different places barricaded his path. Spoleto was reduced to ashes for refusing the customary contribution (*fodrum*). The passage of the Etsch was defended by the Veronese, whom he evaded by the rapidity of his movements, and the pass through the mountains being guarded by a fortress, it was carried by storm by Otto von Wittelsbach, his bravest adherent, who reached it over almost inaccessible rocks, and the Veronese nobles, captured within its walls, were condemned to hang each other.

On his return, in 1156, the emperor held a diet at Ratisbon, in which he rewarded Henry the Lion for the succor he had afforded him during the Italian campaign with the duchy of Saxony.¹ Henry Sammirgott was compensated with the

¹ The old chronicle by Leibnitz, written in rhyme, thus praised the affection subsisting at that time between the emperor and the Lion. Henry was wounded, and Frederick tended him himself:

De Keyser sulven mit der Hant
Vorleit den Knop unde den bant
Sines helmesblotvar,
He nam der wunden gude war
Unde wesede ome mit flite
Dat blot van deme antlize.

When, shortly after this, Henry the Lion was at feud with the refractory bishop of Freysingen, whose town of Vehringen he destroyed, the neighboring village of Munich, which until now had been thrown into the shade by the prosperity of Vehringen, came into notice.

duchy of Austria, which remained henceforth independent of Bavaria. Welf was confirmed in the duchy of Tuscany; Frederick von Rotenburg was created duke of Swabia, the emperor disdaining the title of duke in addition to his own; Berthold von Zähringen was compelled to resign the government of Burgundy, which his father Conrad had held. This province presented a scene of the direst anarchy. Its affairs had been almost entirely neglected by the emperor, and the difference between the language spoken by the inhabitants and that of Germany, had gradually estranged them from the Germans, a circumstance which the French monarchs took advantage of in order to gain over the Burgundian nobles, whom they occasionally supported against Germany. It was just at this conjuncture that William, count of Burgundy (*Franche Comté*), imprisoned Beatrix, the only child of his brother, Count Reinold, in a tower, and deprived her of her rich inheritance. The emperor, mindful of the fidelity with which her father had served him in a time of need, hastened to procure her liberation, and to raise her as his empress to the throne, which her beauty, talents and virtues were well fitted to adorn. The marriage was celebrated at Wurzburg. Five sons were the fruit of their happy union. The whole province of Burgundy (of whose fidelity she was the pledge, and which is traversed by the Rhone till it falls into the sea) swore fealty to the emperor at Besancon, where Otto von Wittelsbach attempted to cut down the Cardinal Roland, who maintained that the emperor held the empire in fee of the pope. Frederick built a palace at Dole.¹

In 1157, assisted by Henry the Lion and by Bohemia, he opened a campaign against Poland, and compelled Boleslaw, the king of that country, once more to recognize the su-

¹ The county of Burgundy, or, as it was called, "*Franche Comté*," was, like the duchy of Burgundy or *Bourgogne*, merely a part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, the whole of which belonged to the German empire, *Franche Comté* alone at that period becoming hereditary in the house of *Staufen*. Frederick's son, Otto, who was created hereditary Count of Burgundy at Dole, left a daughter, Beatrice, whose husband, Otto de Meran, inherited the county. Their daughter, Alice, brought it in dowry to the Counts de Champagne, from whom it afterward descended to the French dukes of Burgundy.

premacý of the German empire, and barefoot, his naked sword hanging around his neck, to take the oath of fealty; after which, the royal dignity was bestowed by the emperor upon his obedient vassal, Wladislaw of Bohemia.

The feuds, so common throughout Germany, were suspended by force; as an example to deter others, he condemned the Pfalzgraf Hermann, who persisted in carrying on a feud with the archbishop of Mayence, to carry a dog, a disgrace so bitterly felt by the haughty vassal that he withdrew into a monastery. The Pfalz was bestowed upon Conrad, the emperor's brother. The introduction of the different orders and customs of chivalry, and the warlike notions inculcated by the crusades, had greatly tended to foster the natural predilection of the Germans, the love of arms, and there were many knights who supported themselves solely by robbery and petty feuds, or, as it was called, by the stirrup. Their castles were mere robbers' nests, whence they attacked and carried off their private enemies or wealthy travelers, the higher church dignitaries and merchants, whom they compelled to pay a ransom. Frederick destroyed a considerable number of these strongholds. It is about this period that the oppression under which the peasantry groaned comes under our notice. The magnificence and luxury introduced from the East, and the formation of different orders of nobility, had multiplied the necessities of life, and consequently had increased the rent of land and feudal taxes. Numbers of the peasants claimed the right of burghership in the towns as *Ausbürger*, absentees, or *Pfahlbürger*, citizens dwelling in the suburbs; and by thus placing themselves under the protection of the cities, occasioned numerous feuds between them and the provincial nobility, who refused to give up their serfs. Some of the princes protected the peasantry, and became in consequence extremely popular. The Landgrave Louis of Thuringia was long ignorant of the misconduct of his nobility. One day, having wandered from the track when pursuing the chase, he took shelter for the night in the house of a smith at

Ruhla, without discovering his rank to his host. The next morning the smith set to work at his forge, and, as he beat the iron, exclaimed, "Become hard, Luz! Become hard, Luz!" and, on being demanded his meaning, by the landgrave, replied that "he meant that the landgrave ought to become hard as iron toward the nobles." The hint was not thrown away upon his listener, Louis henceforward adding to his own power by freeing the peasants from the heavy yoke imposed upon them by the nobility. The nobles made a brave defense in the battle of Naumburg, but were finally defeated, and yoked in turn by fours in a plow, which the landgrave guided with his own hand, and with which he plowed up a field, still known as the Adelacker (the nobles' acre). Louis received thence the sobriquet of "the Iron." His corpse was borne from Naumberg to Reinhartsbrunn, a distance of ten miles, on the shoulders of the nobility.

The policy pursued by the emperor was imitated by several of the princes, who sought to keep their vassals in check by means of the cities. Henry the Lion bestowed great privileges on his provincial towns, Lubeck,¹ Brunswick, etc. Berthold von Zähringen, who, in 1113, founded Freiburg, followed his example. Albrecht the Bear sought to ameliorate the condition of his Slavian frontier, by draining and cultivating the marshes, and by bringing numerous colonists from the Netherlands, whence came the name of Fleming that is still given to the frontier tracts of country filled with dikes and marshes, more especially in the vicinity of Magdeburg.

Having thus given peace to Germany and extended his empire, the emperor was once more at leisure to form his

¹ Henry at first envied the freedom enjoyed by the citizens of Lubeck, and when, on its being burned down, the merchants refused to rebuild their houses, unless he granted them still greater privileges, he erected a new city, which he named Löwenstadt, in their vicinity; but, finding that it possessed no harbor for large shipping, and, moreover, was incapable of being rendered impregnable to the assaults of the marauding pagans, he yielded to their importunities, and bestowed great privileges upon the rebuilt city.—*Ditmar Chro.* 1157. He was two years afterward repulsed by the Eastthuringian Frisicians, whom he had undertaken to reduce to submission.

plans upon Italy, where the pope had again ventured to mention the empire as a gift bestowed by him upon the emperor, who no sooner menaced him than he declared that he had intended to say "bonum factum" not "feudum." In 1158, Frederick crossed the Alps, preceded by his zealous adherent, the valiant Otto von Wittelsbach, who everywhere spread the terror of his name. The Milanese, who, in revenge, had laid the cities of Lodi and Crema in ruins, opposed the emperor at Cassano and were defeated. He received their ambassadors in the ruins of Lodi, and said to them, "You have destroyed the emperor's city, and with the same measure with which ye mete shall it be measured unto you again." He, nevertheless, treated Milan with great lenity, on her surrender in the autumn, in the hope of winning her over to his side, and when, on the 6th of September, the nobles of Milan delivered to him the keys of the city, and came into his presence barefooted, with their naked swords hanging around their necks, he forgot his revenge, and contented himself with an oath of fealty, and a promise of the restoration of Lodi and Crema.

Frederick, true to his policy of legally regulating the affairs of the country as a prince of peace, not as a powerful conqueror, convoked a diet of the native princes of Lombardy in the fields of Ronceval, where the great feudatories of Italy appeared in person. The cities were each represented by two consuls. And, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, and to settle differences, he summoned thither four of the most noted doctors of the law from the Italian universities, to act as impartial judges, Martinus Gosia, Bulgarus, Jacob and Hugh de Porta Ravegnana. The study of the ancient Roman law, to which the discovery of the Pandects at Amalfi had greatly conduced, had, not long before this period, come into vogue in Italy. In the inimical position in which Italy stood in regard to Germany, may be perceived the chief cause of her predilection for the study of her bygone times, while the confusion between her ancient and modern privileges naturally caused the clear,

precise, and conclusive laws of ancient Rome to be rigidly examined and consulted. The university of Bologna, in particular, applied herself to the study of the Roman law, which she undertook to explain, and to adapt to the present state of affairs. Frederick, in common with the rest of his contemporaries, acted upon the idea of the intimate connection of the German empire with that of ancient Rome, and therefore discovered no hesitation in reviving all the ancient privileges, which were, in fact, more conformable with his policy, no mention being made of hierarchical power in the old Roman law, which merely propounded the temporal and unlimited authority of the emperor, and thus provided him with a powerful weapon not only against the pope, but also against his unruly vassals, with which he willingly armed himself.¹

The new Italian code, delivered by the diet held at Ronceval, was founded partly on the German, partly on the Roman legislature. It was decided that all the royal dues usurped by the dukes, margraves, and townships, should relapse to the crown, and that the nomination of all princes and counts, as well as city consuls, was invalid unless confirmed by the emperor. This was an old German prerogative. It was further resolved that the great fiefs should be inalienable and indivisible, in order to put an end to the feuds caused by their conferment and division. The universities were endowed with additional privileges, slavery being antipathetical to the progress of intelligence. A general tax, a most unpopular novelty, was deduced from the Roman law, and now for the first time imposed. When Otto von Wittelsbach attempted to enforce this tax on the Milanese, an insurrection ensued, and he was driven out of the city; and, at the same

¹ One day when riding at Bologna with two professors, the emperor inquired of them whether he could justly ascribe to himself the title of "master of the world." One of them, Martinus, replied, "Yes, for all the people and things in the world were his"; the other, Bulgarus, said, "No, for the emperor merely governs, but does not possess." This saying pleased the emperor; but, on dismounting, he presented his horse in gift to Martinus, upon which Bulgarus exclaimed, "*Dixi æquum, amisi equum, quod non est æquum!*"

time, the majority of the cities declared against the deputies, their representatives at the diet, who had been chiefly induced to vote with the emperor by the hope of being confirmed by him in their consulates. Hadrian IV. also protested against the diet. Henry the Lion then attempted to negotiate matters; the cardinals sent to him for that purpose being seized and imprisoned in Tirol by the lawless counts of Eppan, Henry, in his right as duke of Bavaria, punished them by destroying their castles.¹ On the decease of Hadrian, in 1159, there was a schism among the cardinals, the Ghibellines electing Victor IV., the Guelphs, Alexander III.

Frederick's first attack was directed against the cities, his nearest and most dangerous foes. After a dreadful siege, such as no German had ever yet been doomed to stand, he took Crema, the ally of Milan, in 1160. Four times did the enraged Milanese secretly attempt his assassination without success. Milan defied him, and, during the winter, when most of the German princes returned as usual to the other side of the Alps, the Milanese defeated him during an inroad into the province of Carnaro. In the spring of 1161, strong re-enforcements arrived from Germany, and the siege began with increased fury, the emperor swearing that his head should not again wear the crown until he had razed Milan to the ground. The contest lasted a whole year without intermission, and terminated on the 6th of March, 1162, in the capitulation of the proud city, which hunger alone had forced to yield. The starved citizens marched out of the city ar-

¹ The counts of Eppan, probably the descendants of the ancient Bavarian frontier counts in Botzen, were the daring rivals of their neighbors, the counts of Tirol. Their castles touched upon each other in the beautiful vale between Botzen and Meran, at the confluence of the Etsch and the Eisach. At the present day may be seen there the ruins of twenty castles; the ancient ancestral castle of the counts of Tirol, above Meran; ill-famed Mautasche; horrid Greifenstein, from whose bristling rocks the Eppans fell like vultures on their prey; Siebeneichen, the ancestral castle of the most trusty knight, Boimond; Altenburg, Korb, Wart, Festenstein, Payrsberg, Altenberg, Formigar, Neuhaus; with the modern fortresses of Freudenstein, Fuchsberg, Gandeck, Gleif, Haslach. This valley is one of the most beautiful in the world, and is more thickly studded with castles than any other in Germany. Ulrich, the last of the Eppans, marched, in 1241, against the Tartars, after endowing the bishopric of Brixen with the whole of his possessions.

rayed in sackcloth, a rope around their necks, a taper in their hands, and the nobles with their naked swords hanging around their necks. In this state they remained some time exposed to the heavy rain, until the emperor, who was at table, came forth and saw them deliver up their weapons and badges of honor, while their Palladium, a tall tree bearing a cross, was cut down with a German ax. He then ordered a part of the city wall to be thrown down, and rode through the opening into the city. He contented himself, notwithstanding, with the total destruction of all the walls, towers, and fortifications; the city and the lives of the inhabitants were spared. A considerable booty was gained by pillage. Among others, Reinold, archbishop of Cologne, took possession of the three kings, whose costly relics he carried to Cologne, where, even at the present day, they are objects of great veneration.¹ Frederick henceforth ruled Italy with a rod of iron. He created Reinold, the austere archbishop of Cologne and Count von Dassel, archchancellor and regent of Italy, and gave him subordinate officers, who filled the country with rapine and oppression. The extortion thus practiced was known as little as it had been enjoined by the emperor, the intention of whose regulations was merely the enforcement of strict justice and the maintenance of order; the unhappy results, however, fell upon his head.

During the absence of the emperor, feuds had broken out anew in Germany. In 1160, the citizens of Mayence had killed their archbishop, Arnold, for having expelled his predecessor, Henry. Frederick severely punished them, and leveled the city walls. In Swabia, a robber knight, one of Welf's vassals, having been harshly treated by Hugo, Count von Tübingen, Welf and his allies, the Zähringers and Habs-

¹ According to the legendary account, Milan was totally destroyed by the emperor, the ground on which she stood was leveled, and a plow driven across it. The Milanese were said to have taken the beautiful empress Beatrice prisoner; to have placed her on a female ass with her face to its tail, and to have led her in mockery through the streets. For this insult, all the inhabitants of Milan, in rotation, were sentenced to take a fig, placed beneath the tail of a female ass, away with their mouth; an occurrence with which the Milanese were ever afterward derided.

burgers, attacked Tubingen, which was succored by Frederick of Swabia and the Count von Hohenzollern, by whom the Welfs were completely defeated in 1164. These disturbances hastened the emperor's return from Italy, and in order to preserve his good understanding with the Welfs, which was at that time necessary, he compelled the innocent Count von Tubingen to surrender to Welf the elder, and peace was again made.—Frederick at the same time induced Boleslaw, king of Poland, to restore Silesia to the three sons of his long-exiled brother Wladislaw, in consequence of which Boleslaw the Long received Breslau and the central part of the province, Conrad, Lower, and Mieslaw, Upper Silesia. The German education they had received from their mother, Agnes, inclined them more in favor of German than Polish manners, and they greatly contributed to the gradual annexation to the empire of the fertile valleys watered by the Oder, and bounded by the forests of Poland and by the Riesengebirge (giant mountains).

The emperor's attention was now recalled to Italy. The pope, Victor, expired in 1164. The recognition of Alexander III. by the emperor remained dubious. This pope, a man of energy and cunning, had withdrawn to Genoa, and thence to France, where he sought to form a league against the emperor, in which he was encouraged by the republics of Venice and Genoa, which began to view with dread the supremacy of the emperor in Italy. A reconciliation would indubitably have been proposed by Frederick, had not Henry, king of England, exactly at that conjuncture declared against Alexander, with whom he was at variance concerning some ecclesiastical affairs, and Henry the Lion, being that monarch's son-in-law, and the alliance with the Welfs being of greater moment to the emperor than the reconciliation with the pope, he recognized the new pope, Pasqual III., and invited him to Germany, where, in 1165, he canonized Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This decision on the part of the emperor put the finishing stroke to Alexander's projects. The insolent behavior of the

Germans had naturally excited the hatred of the Italians. The regent, Reinold, when humbly counseled by Count Blandrate to remember the precepts of wisdom, replied, "What do we want with wisdom? we want gold, and nothing but gold!" Gozzo, the governor at Seprio, arbitrarily confiscated property, and burned the deeds, if it happened to be mortgaged or encumbered with debts. Pagano, the governor of Padua, committed violence on the beautiful Speronella Dalesmani, etc. These governors were Italians, but the horrors they perpetrated were countenanced by the Germans. Markwald von Grundbach, the governor of Milan, had tax-gatherers in his pay who were natives of Lombardy, and whom he fixed at Pavia and in the country round about for the purpose of discovering those possessed of wealth. The confiscated estates were entered by these men in the book of pain, as it was called. The rape of the beautiful Paduan was the signal for open revolt. The Germans, although few in number, successfully defended their lives, but were unable to hinder Alexander's triumphal entry into Rome, in 1165, and the interdict laid upon the emperor. Notwithstanding this, they maintained their ground and continued their attacks upon the pope. Christian of Mayence, the emperor's steady adherent, a man equally distinguished as an archbishop, a statesman, and a general, besieged Ancona; but was compelled to raise the siege in order to succor the archbishop Reinold of Cologne, who was hard pushed by the Romans, thirty thousand of whom were defeated by Christian with merely fifteen hundred men. The Lombards in Upper Italy, meanwhile, remained masters of the field. On the 7th of April, 1167, the league between the cities of Lombardy was established, and Milan was rebuilt on a handsome scale, and more strongly fortified, the women giving all their jewels to the churches that had been plundered of their decorations by the Germans.

In the same year, the emperor undertook his third expedition against Rome, and invested Pasqual with the tiara. But before he could attack the cities, his fine army was al-

most entirely swept away by a pestilence; the archbishop Reinold, Frederick of Swabia, the only son of the aged Welf, and numerous other German counts and bishops, were among the victims. At Pisa, the emperor threw his glove into the air as he pronounced the whole of the Lombard league out of the ban of the empire. He then retreated with the remainder of his army beyond the Alps. On being closely pursued, he ordered the hostages that accompanied his retreat to be hanged on the trees on the roadside. In Susa he narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Italians; the knight, Hermann von Siebeneichen, who had placed himself in the emperor's bed, while the latter fled under cover of the night, being seized in his stead.

CLI. *Henry the Lion*

As long as the good understanding between the Waiblingers and the Welfs subsisted, Henry the Lion lent his aid to the emperor during his Italian expeditions, and was, in return, allowed the free exercise of his authority in the north of Germany, where, although already possessed of Saxony and Bavaria, he ceaselessly endeavored to extend his dominion by the utter annihilation of the unfortunate Slavonians. The aged and brave prince, Niclot, was treacherously induced to quit his castle of Werle, and assassinated. His son, Wratislaw, was granted a petty territory, but, becoming suspected, was thrown into prison. His second son, Pribislaw, and his ally, Casimir, prince of Pomerania, placed themselves at the head of the Slavonians, who fought with all the energy of despair, and gained a glorious victory over the Saxons at Demmin, in 1164; upon which Henry the Lion invaded the country, hanged the unfortunate Wratislaw, and was on the point of laying the land waste by fire and sword, when a similar attempt was made on his northern frontier by the Danes. In order to protect himself from their attacks, he concluded peace with the Wends, deeming himself more secure in the vicinity of the petty Wendian

princes than in that of the powerful Danish monarch. Tetislaw in Rugen, Casimir in Pomerania, and Priczlaw (a third and Christian son of Nielot) in Mecklenburg, became Henry's vassals. The county of Schwerin was alone severed from the ancient country of the Obotrites and given to the gallant Saxon, Count Guntzel. The descendants of Priczlaw reign at the present day over Mecklenburg. He founded, in 1171, the great monastery of Dobberan.¹ Benno, the first bishop of Mecklenburg, was his worthy contemporary.—In Pomerania, Christianity had been already introduced under the late Duke Wratislaw. The inhabitants of Stettin, the ancient city of the Wends, obstinately refusing to be converted, Boleslaw of Poland suddenly attacked them in the winter time, and murdered eighteen thousand men (1121). This defeat, and Wratislaw's project of securing his authority over his wild subjects by the imposition of Christianity, greatly aided the endeavors of St. Otto, bishop of Bamberg, who ventured into the country for the purpose of converting the heathen inhabitants. One of the earlier missionaries, Bernard, had been placed in a boat at Wollin, and sent forth "to preach to the fish." Wratislaw, and numbers of his subjects, were baptized at Pieritz by Otto. The people of Stettin and Wollin still murmured,² and at length revolted, but were reduced to submission, and a new bishopric was erected in Wollin.³

¹ Now a celebrated bathing-place. The Holy Dam, as it is called, by which the town is protected from sea-storms, is said to have been made in one night in answer to the prayers of the Christians, who were exposed to great danger. This dam is now used as a race-course.—*Trans.*

² Se leten sick dinken, dat me eren Christendhom so engstlick begerde, were men de orsake, dat me se vnder denstparicheit vnd beschattinge desto beter hebben mochte.—*Kantzow*. Stettin possessed four pagan temples and a sacred oak. The triple-headed idol, Triglaf, was sent by Otto to Rome.

³ The pope declared this bishopric independent of the archbishoprics of Magdeburg and of Gnesen, and took it under his immediate protection. This attempt of Rome to found an ecclesiastical power to the rear of Germany is repeated at a later period in reference to the bishopric of Breslau and the archbishopric of Riga.—The indulgence shown on this occasion to the Slavian pagans, as in former times to those of Scandinavia, by the introduction of heathen symbols into Christian ceremonies, is remarkable. St. Otto marked a Christian relic with the figure of the black cock, held sacred by the Slavi.—See *Barthold's History of Pomerania*, i. 231. This is connected with the weather-cock placed on Chris-

In Denmark, the dispute between the three brethren still continued. Sueno, although recognized king by the emperor, was continually harassed by Canute and Waldemar, the former of whom he succeeded in assassinating at a banquet, to which he and Waldemar had been invited under pretext of reconciliation. Waldemar escaped with a severe wound, placed himself at the head of the discontented populace, whom a bard incited to vengeance, and triumphed on the Grathaer heath, and Sueno, who received thence the posthumous surname of Grathe, was deprived of his head by a peasant in 1157. Waldemar, now sole sovereign, visited the emperor, in 1162, at Metz, and besides being allowed to hold Denmark in fee, was granted the reversion of the still diminishing lands of the Wends, for the purpose of balancing the power of Henry the Lion. Waldemar undertook a great expedition against Rugen, under pretext of destroying the last resort of paganism, the great temple of the idol Swantevit on Arcona; but in reality with the intention of gaining possession of that commodiously situated island. This step excited the jealousy of Henry the Lion, who sent a Saxon re-enforcement. Pomerania, now converted to Christianity, also afforded her aid. Arcona fell in 1168. The banquet given in honor of the victory was prepared upon the fragments of the gigantic wooden idol. Waldemar took possession of Rugen in his own name, seized the maritime city of Wollin, and fixed himself boldly on the coasts of the Baltic; upon which Henry invaded Denmark, and compelled the proud Waldemar, with whom he held a conference on the bridge of the Eider, to give up to him half of the treasures gained in the pillage of Arcona, and to accept of him as colleague in the government of Rugen.—Henry afterward busied himself with the regulation of his northern state, where, with the same right with which he had formerly nominated and invested the bishop of Oldenburg, he now

tian churches. These cocks were originally pagan sacrifices, which were placed on the tops of trees as a preventative to bad weather; they afterward became the symbols of Christianity, messengers of the morning light in a spiritual sense.

created a new margraviate, that of *Schwerin*, dependent upon him alone, which he bestowed upon the gallant Count *Guntzel*. He also rapidly increased the prosperity of *Lubeck*, by inviting thither numerous colonists and bestowing upon her great privileges.

Count *Florens III.* of *Holland* was, in 1169, defeated by the *West Frisians*. He afterward visited the *Holy Land*, where he died (1188). The landgrave of *Thuringia* and *Bernhard von Anhalt* were at feud with one another and carried fire and sword into each other's territory (1166).

The aged *Welf* died at *Memmingen*, where, surrounded by boon companions, he held a luxurious court, squandered his revenues, and loaded himself with debt (1169).¹ *Henry the Lion* had never assisted him; the emperor's treasury, on the contrary, was ever open to him, and as he left no issue, he bequeathed his *Swabian* allods and the lands of the *Countess Matilda* in *Italy* to his benefactor. The loss of the *Welfic* inheritance estranged *Henry the Lion* from the emperor, and he lost no opportunity of seeking for revenge.

The *Italians* treated the election of *Calixtus III.* by the *Ghibellines* with indifference, and remained firm in their allegiance to *Alexander III.*, in whose honor they erected the formidable fortress of *Alexandria*, as a bulwark against the *Germans*. *Christian of Mayence*, the only imperialist who still kept the field in *Italy*, again vainly besieged *Ancona*. This distinguished statesman and general spoke six languages, and was, moreover, celebrated for his knightly feats of arms. A golden helm upon his head, armed cap-a-pie, he was daily beheld mounted on his war-steed, the archiepiscopal mantle on his shoulders, and a heavy club, with which he had brained thirty-eight of the enemy, in his hand. The emperor, whose arrival in *Italy* was urgently implored, was retained in *Germany* by his mistrust of *Henry the Lion*, who, in order to furnish himself with a

¹ For weeks at a time the whole of the *Swabian* and *Bavarian* nobility would feast and dance on the *Lechfeld* near *Augsburg*, at the expense of the aged *Welf*, who at length became blind.

pretext for refusing his assistance in the intended campaign without coming to an open breach, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1171; whence, after performing his devotions at the holy sepulcher, without unsheathing his sword in its defence, he returned to his native country. During his stay in the Holy Land, the papal partisans in the East, who at an earlier period had treacherously refused their assistance to Conrad, the Ghibelline, loaded him with attentions on account of his Guelphic origin. This crusade has been adorned in the legends of the time with manifold wonders. On his return, he caused a lion, carved in stone, the symbol of his power, to be placed in the market-place at Brunswick (1172); an occurrence that gave rise to the fable of the faithful lion, by which he is said to have been accompanied during his pilgrimage.

At length, in 1174, Frederick Barbarossa persuaded the sullen duke to perform his duty in the field, and for the fourth time crossed the Alps. A terrible revenge was taken upon Susa, which was burned to the ground. Alexandria withstood the siege. The military science of the age, every ruse de guerre, was exhausted by both the besiegers and the besieged, and the whole of the winter was fruitlessly expended without any signal success on either side. The Lombard league meanwhile assembled an immense army in order to oppose Frederick in the open field, while treason threatened him on another side. It is uncertain what grounds he had for fearing the old Duke Henry Sammirgott of Austria, whose son, Leopold, had wedded Helena, the sister of Geisa, king of Hungary, and he has been charged with having incited against him Duke Hermann of Carinthia, and Count Ottocar IV. of Styria, who invaded Austria, and burned three hundred men alive in a church at St. Veit. Sammirgott revenged this unprovoked aggression by making an inroad into Styria and laying the whole country desolate.

The Venetians also embraced the papal party, and defeated Ulrich, the patriarch of Aquileia, who held Carniola

in fee of the empire.' Henry also at length acted with open disloyalty, and declared to the emperor, who lay sick at Chiavenna, on the Lake of Como, his intention of abandoning him; and, unshaken by Frederick's exhortation in the name of duty and honor to renounce his perfidious plans, offered to provide him with money on condition of receiving considerable additions to his power in Germany, and the free imperial town of Goslar in gift. These unjust demands were steadily refused by Frederick, who, embracing the Welf's knees, entreated him, as the honor of the empire was at stake, not to abandon him in the hour of need before the eyes of the enemy, with the flower of the army. At this scene, Jordanus Truchsess, the Welf's vassal, laughed and said, "Duke, the crown which you now behold at your feet will ere long shine upon your brow"; to which one of the emperor's retainers replied, "I should rather fear that the crown might gain the ascendancy." The emperor was at length raised by the beautiful empress, Beatrice, who said to him, "God will help you, when at some future time you remember this day, and the Welf's insolence."—The Welf withdrew with all his vassals.

Frederick, reduced to the alternative of either following his insolent vassal, or of exposing himself and his weakened forces to total destruction by remaining in his present position, courageously resolved to abide the hazard, and to await the arrival of fresh re-enforcements from Germany; the Lombards, however, saw their advantage, and attacked him at Legnano, on the 29th of May, 1176. The Swabians (the southern Germans still remaining true to their allegiance) fought with all the courage of despair, but Berthold von Zähringen² was taken prisoner, the emperor's horse fell in

¹ He is said to have been taken prisoner, together with twelve canons, and to have been only restored to liberty on condition of paying to the Venetians a yearly tribute of a fatted ox and twelve fat pigs.

² The necessitous circumstances of the emperor at that time explain why, in 1175, he bestowed the ducal title upon the Count von der Teck, a son of Conrad von Zähringen, to which he laid claim as heir to Rudolf of Swabia, the opponent of Henry IV. These dukes were, however, merely counts in point of

the thickest of the fight, his banner was won by the "Legion of Death," a chosen Lombard troop, and he was given up as dead. He escaped almost by miracle, while his little army was entirely overwhelmed. In this necessity the emperor had recourse to subtlety, and ingeniously contrived to produce disunion among his opponents. Evading the Lombard league, he opened a negotiation with Venice and with the pope, to whom he offered to make atonement; nor were his proposals rejected, the pope hoping to turn the momentary distress of the emperor to advantage, by negotiating terms before the arrival of the re-enforcements which he foresaw would be sent to his assistance from Germany, and Venice being blinded by her jealousy of the rising power of the cities of Lombardy. An interview took place at Venice, when peace was concluded between Frederick and Alexander III. (1177). Guelphic historiographers relate that on the emperor's kissing the pope's feet, the latter placed his foot on Frederick's neck, uttering these words of Holy Writ, "Thou shalt tread upon the adder and the lion"; to which the latter replied, "Not unto thee, but unto St. Peter be this honor!" The letters of the pope that relate to these times are silent in regard to this occurrence, while there are many proofs, on the other hand, that several conversations took place between the pope and the emperor, each of whom treated the other with respect and esteem, as the most intelligent men of their age. It is true that the emperor sacrificed Calixtus, and that he bestowed upon the Lombard cities the privilege of electing their own consuls; but it is also true that these concessions on the emperor's part were balanced by those made by the pope, who released the emperor from the interdict, and confirmed all the powerful archbishops and bishops,¹ the stanch adherents of the emperor, in their dignity, thus relieving

authority, and unknown to fame. Their possessions, on the extinction of their name, fell to Wurtemberg.

¹ Among others, Henry, bishop of Liege, who, in 1150, overcame the count of Namur in a feud, and took four hundred and thirty of his knights prisoners; he accompanied the emperor to Milan, and was ever his faithful vassal.

him from any apprehension on the side of the church, the most dangerous rival of his temporal power.¹

The death of Albrecht the Bear in 1170, and the partition of Brandenburg between his sons Otto and Bernard, diminished the number of Henry's dangerous rivals in the North. The insolence with which the neighboring bishops, who relied upon the emperor for aid, opposed him, particularly Reinhold, archbishop of Cologne, Wichmann of Magdeburg, and the bishops of Halberstadt and Munster, nevertheless, kept him fully occupied. Unintimidated by the influence and power of these "bald-pates," as he scornfully termed them, he boldly attacked them in turn, and gained possession of Halberstadt, when Bishop Ulrich died in consequence of the ill-treatment he received, and a thousand persons were burned alive in the cathedral. On the emperor's return from Italy, he summoned the Lion to appear before the supreme tribunal, and on the third public summons being unattended, pronounced him out of the ban of the empire. The bald-pates triumphed. All his ancient foes, all those who hoped to rise by his fall, joined the Ghibelline faction against the last of the Welfs, to whose cause Saxony alone adhered. The Lion, driven at bay, proved himself worthy of his name, and almost obliterated the stain upon his honor, the treason of which he had been guilty, by his valorous feats. Aided by his faithful adherents and vassals, Adolf III. of Holstein, Bernard, count of Ratzeburg, Guntzel, Margrave of Schwerin, and Bernard von der Lippe, he gained a decisive victory on the Halerfeld (1180). He maintained the contest for three years, and even took the Landgrave of Thuringia pris-

¹ The story of the humiliation of Barbarossa by the pope has been preserved at Venice by inscriptions and paintings, and another story equally fabulous has also been handed down in Italy by means of a popular festival. It is said that Otto, the emperor's son, attacked Venice by sea, but was defeated, and brought a prisoner to the city; and that in order to perpetuate the memory of this victory, the pope, Alexander, bestowed upon the doge the privilege of making an annual excursion into the sea, in a magnificently decorated ship, the *Bucefaut*, and solemnly to espouse the sea by casting a ring into her bosom, thus metaphorically asserting the rule of the city of Venice over the waves. This festival continued for several centuries, but its historical origin is unknown.

oner; but his suspicion and pride at length estranged from him the vassals by whom he had so long been upheld, and he was closely besieged by the emperor in Stade, where he was abandoned by all except Bernard von der Lippe (who, after the remarkable defense of Haldersleben,¹ had been forced to quit his country and his connections), and the city of Lubeck, which refused to surrender to the emperor, until commanded to do so by their benefactor, the Lion. An interview took place at this period between the emperor and Henry's ancient rival, Waldemar of Denmark, whose daughter, Christina, was, on this occasion, affianced to the young prince, Conrad. Frederick declared Jarimar, prince of Rugen, a Danish fcoffee, and bound Boleslaw and Casimir, the princes of Pomerania, to do him feudal service in the field as dukes of the empire.

Henry, seeing that all was lost, sent Louis, Landgrave of Thuringia, whom he had restored to liberty, to sue for peace, and threw himself at the emperor's feet at Erfurt. Frederick no sooner saw his treacherous vassal at his feet, than, with a generous recollection of their former days of friendship, he raised him from his knees, and affectionately embracing him, shed tears of joy at their reconciliation; but, sensible of the danger of permitting the existence of the great duchies, he remained inflexible in his determination to crush the power of the Welfs, by treating Bavaria and Saxony as he had formerly done Franconia and Lothringia. Their partition was resolved upon, and Henry was merely permitted to retain Brunswick. The duchy of Saxon-Lauenburg, to the east of the Elbe, was bestowed upon Bernard,² the brother

¹ Archbishop Wichmann, whose lands he had laid waste, besieged him, dammed up the little river Bever, and directed its waters, which had collected for several months, into the town, which was quickly flooded. The citizens took refuge beneath the roofs of the houses until the water had disappeared, and refused to surrender. Shortly before this, Bernard had set fire to the heath on which the archbishop had pitched his camp.

² Bernard, on one occasion, accompanied the emperor to Italy. One day, while resting on the march, the emperor threw the square cap he had worn on his head on account of the heat, by chance, on Bernard's shield, on which the cross-beams, the arms of Ballenstadt, were painted, and allowed the young duke afterward to bear this cap in the arms of Saxony. Bernard was the younger

of Otto of Brandenburg, and Westphalia on the archbishop of Cologne. Other small portions of territory fell to Thuringia, and into the hands of the "bald-pates." The counts of Holstein and Oldenburg were declared independent. Bavaria was given to the trusty Otto von Wittelsbach,¹ in whose family it henceforth remained. Styria and the Tyrol were, however, severed from it. Tyrol, or Meran,² was granted to a Count Berthold von Andechs. And for the better security of this new order of things, Henry the Lion was exiled for three years. On his way to England, accompanied merely by a small retinue, the citizens of Bardewik, his own town, closed the gates against him, and treated him with every mark of indignity.

Bohemia met with severe treatment at the hands of the emperor. The aged Wenzeslaw had secretly intrigued with the Italians, and, without obtaining the consent of the emperor, had proclaimed his son, Frederick, his successor on the throne. Barbarossa deposed both father and son, and bestowed the crown on one of their relations, whom he drew for that purpose out of prison; but this prince proving equally unruly and hostile,³ he deprived him of his crown, which he restored to Frederick on payment of a sum of money in 1180.

Barbarossa granted the greatest privileges to the cities,

son of Albrecht the Bear; his elder brother, Otto, inherited Brandenburg. The power of this great family was weakened by the partition of the inheritance between the descendants of Bernard, whose two sons, Albrecht I. and Henry, reigned severally over Saxony and Little Anhalt. Albrecht's sons subdivided Saxony into Saxon-Wittenberg and Saxon-Lauenburg. A subdivision also took place among the petty princes of Anhalt.

¹ The ancient house of Scheyeru, whose name has been deduced from the Scirri. It long retained its possessions and its influence in Bavaria. Otto, when duke, built the castle of Landshut, as *Hut*, or protection, to the Land, or country.

² According to Hormayr, the counts of Andechs descended from the Huosier race, one of the oldest on record in the Bavarian code. These counts guarded the frontier of the empire as far as the shores of the Adriatic, whence they are said to have been denominated Counts von Meran (*Meer an*, *Meer*, sea). The castle of Tirol, whence the whole family afterward derived its name, belonged at that period to another family, and fell, in 1240, by inheritance, to that of Meran.

³ Hagech relates that he gained a victory of trifling importance over the Germans, and caused a German knight to be buried alive, mounted on horseback, each of his Bohemian followers pouring a helmet full of earth over him.

with the intention of still further diminishing the power of the great vassals; and it is, consequently, to him that a number of the most considerable cities are indebted for their complete affranchisement, and for their elevation to the rank of free imperial cities under the immediate protection of the crown; for instance, Ratisbon, Esslingen, Ravensburg, Reutlingen, Eger, Spires, Hagenau, Memmingen, Altenburg, Rotenburg on the Tauber, Nuremberg, etc., which were severally affranchised from the authority of the reigning bishop or duke. Berthold von Zähringen, who had named the city founded by him, Freiburg, and had greatly favored its rise, nevertheless opposed the affranchisement of the serfs. On attempting, during his government of the bishopric of Sitten, to reduce the peasantry of Upper Valais to submission, they attacked and drove him out of their mountains, pursuing him so closely that his life was in jeopardy (1180).¹

On the death of Pope Alexander, Frederick preserved good relations with his successor Urban, and concluded a fresh treaty of peace and amity at Constance with Lombardy, to which, although it still remained annexed to the empire, he granted the privilege of electing their own governors, and of forming alliances.

The Whitsuntide holidays were celebrated at Mayence, in 1184, with unwonted magnificence.² Forty thousand

¹ The Alpine herdsmen had been free from time immemorial. When Conrad II. reannexed Burgundy to the empire, the lower part of French Valais was comprehended in the earldom of Savoy, the upper part in the bishopric of Sitten, which consisted of seven free cantons, Combs, Brig, Visp, Raron, Leuc, Syders, and Sitten or Sion, each of which had its own court of justice. These courts and the bishop elected the captain-general of the country. The ancient German constitution was still in force among them, the bishop filling the office of the ancient priestly judge, the captain-general that of the war-chief. The Friscians and Ditmarses stood in similar relation with the bishops of Utrecht and Bremen, and the freemen of Schwyz with the monastery of Einsiedeln, those of Uri with the abbey of Zurich and the monastery of Wettingen. The peasantry, whose rights were safe beneath the crosier, defended them against their arbitrary temporal rulers, as in earlier times the Schwyzers against Einsiedeln, in the twelfth century the Wallisers against the Zähringer, the Friscians against the counts of Holland, the Ditmarses against the counts of Holstein and Oldenburg, and, at a later period, the people of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden against the house of Habsburg, which gave rise to the Swiss confederation.

² Henry von Beldeck mentions it in his poem, the *Eneid*t.

knights, the most lovely women, and the most distinguished bards in the empire, here surrounded Frederick Barbarossa, who seemed now to have attained the summit of his power; and the memory of the splendor that was displayed on this occasion was long celebrated in song. The emperor's four sons, Henry,¹ his successor on the throne, Frederick, duke of Swabia, Conrad, duke of Franconia,² Otto, duke of Burgundy, and the youthful Philip, who was still an academician, were present. A violent storm that arose in the night and overthrew the tents in this encampment of pleasure, was, however, regarded as an omen of future ill.

In the following year the emperor carried a great project into execution. The difficulty he had experienced in keeping the cities of Lombardy in check, and, notwithstanding the endeavors of the archbishop, Christian, in retaining the papal dominions without the possession of Lower Italy, drew his attention thither, and he succeeded in obtaining the hand of Constantia, the daughter and heiress of Roger the Norman, king of Apulia and Sicily,³ in 1185. But scarcely had he crossed the Alps, than Cnud, the new king of Denmark, infringed the treaty, and uniting his forces with those of Jarimar of Rugen, gained a naval victory over Boleslaw of Pomerania, whom he compelled to do him homage. The princes of Mecklenburg, Niclot, the son of Wratislaw, and Borwin, the son of Priczlaw, met with a similar fate.⁴ The emperor, whom the affairs of Italy fully occupied, deferred his revenge; but his son Frederick, Louis III. of Thuringia, and a Thuringian count, Siegfried, sent back their brides, the three daughters of Cnud, to Denmark. Jarimar, at this

¹ In the same year a hall in which he was holding a council, at Erfurt, fell in. He was saved by the arch of a window.

² The ducal dignity bestowed upon the bishop of Würzburg was restricted to his diocese.

³ He said, "Italy, like the eel, even when held fast by the head, the tail and the middle, still threatens to slip from our clutches." Constantia is said to have been shut up in a convent, and forced to take the veil, it having been foretold that she would cause the ruin of her whole race. Her brother, William I., left a son, William, the last of the family.

⁴ From Borwin and Matilda, a natural daughter of Henry the Lion, descend the two reigning houses of Mecklenburg.

period, greatly improved the island of Rugen, whose inhabitants were fully converted to Christianity during his reign. He built several churches and monasteries, and gave great encouragement to German settlers. The German city of Stralsund was at this time also built on the island opposite.¹

A fresh contest now took place between Flanders and France. Dietrich, count of Alsace, the great legislator, the upholder of popular liberty, and the promoter of commerce and manufactures in Flanders, died in 1169, and was succeeded by his son, Philip, who inherited the county of Vermandois in right of his wife. He had no children. In 1177, he undertook a crusade to the Holy Land, with the intention of placing the crown of Jerusalem on his own brow. His mother, Sibylla, was daughter to Fulco of Jerusalem, the power of whose descendants, who still reigned in Palestine, had fallen to decay. With the hope of aiding his relatives and Christendom, and with the expectation of never returning to his native country, he secured the possession of Flanders to his sister, Margaret, and to her husband, Baldwin von Hennegau, and thus made amends for the injustice with which the sons of Richilda had formerly been treated. His plan, however, failed, and he returned, bearing for the first time on his shield the black lion, which he had substituted instead of the various badges by which his troops had been hitherto distinguished in the field when combating the Turks. Faithful to his love of peace and concord, and anxious to secure the possession of Flanders and Hennegau to his brother-in-law, Baldwin, he affianced his niece, Elisabeth, to Philip Augustus, the son of Louis VII. of France, to whom he promised Artois in dowry. The youthful prince's education was confided to him, but scarcely had he mounted the throne on the death of his father, in 1180, than, with true French impudence,² he demanded the cession of the county of Vermandois. The aged Count Philip, enraged at this behavior,

¹ See Berthold's Pomerania.

² Conati semper sunt Galli Flandris præcidere alas, detrahere quidquid possent.—*Meyerus Annal.*, 1180.

instantly took up arms, and even refused to cede Artois. The whole of the Netherlands espoused his cause, and Philip Augustus, finding himself worsted, revenged himself on the innocent Elisabeth, whom he sent back in disgrace to her father, Baldwin von Hennegau, who happened at that moment to be at variance with Godfred of Lyons on account of an insignificant lawsuit, which, being declared against him by Philip of Flanders, so roused his anger that he abandoned the league and again made terms with France; a step that was probably greatly induced by the hope of restoring his daughter to her royal spouse. Philip of Flanders, struck with sorrow at this proof of ingratitude, was at length persuaded to sign a treaty of peace at Amiens, in 1186, by which he bequeathed Vermandois to France, after which he undertook a second crusade to the Holy Land, whence he never returned.

CLII. *Barbarossa's Crusade and Death*

THE situation of the Christians in the East became gradually more perplexing. The treachery practiced by the Greeks and the Pullanes during the last crusade toward the emperor, Conrad III., and Louis VII., gradually met with its fitting reward, although the disputes that arose among the Mahometans were at first in their favor. Zengis the Great had been succeeded by his son Nurreddin, who was opposed by the Egyptian caliphs, and whose son was deprived of his throne by a new aspirant, named Salaheddin, who, uniting Syria and Egypt beneath his rule, subdued the Assassins, the most dangerous enemies of the sultans, and attacked the weak and demoralized Christians, whose strength had been spent in intestine feuds.

After the departure of Conrad III. and Louis VII., whose fruitless expeditions had ended in anger and disappointment, Baldwin III., the youthful king of Jerusalem, besieged his own mother, Melisenda, Fulco's widow, who refused to abdicate the sovereignty, in the city of David. The knights,

ful.' In this battle the holy cross was irretrievably lost. King Guido, Reinald the Wild, the aged Margrave William of Montserrat (by origin a German, and vassal to the German emperor), the grand-master of the Templars, several bishops and knights, fell into the hands of the enemy. Reinald was put to death. Salaheddin, quickly following up this advantage, seized all the cities of Palestine, except Antioch, Tripolis, and Tyre. Jerusalem was for some time valiantly defended by the queen Sibylla, but finally surrendered. A German knight greatly distinguished himself during this siege by the valor with which he resisted the Turks when storming the city. The Christians were granted a free exit; Salaheddin beholding them as they quitted the city in mournful procession, from a lofty throne, Oct. 30, 1187. All the churches, that of the Holy Sepulcher alone excepted, were reconverted into mosques. And thus was Jerusalem lost by the incapacity of her French rulers, and the whole of Palestine would inevitably have again fallen a prey to the Turks, had not Conrad of Montserrat, the son of the captive Margrave, encouraged the trembling citizens of Tyre to make head against Salaheddin.

William, bishop of Tyre, the most noted of the historians of his times, instantly hastened into the West, for the purpose of demanding assistance. The pious emperor, then in his seventieth year, joyfully took up the cross for the second time, and with him his son, Frederick of Swabia, Philip of Flanders, Hermann of Baden, Berthold von Meran (a renowned crusader, the father of St. Louis, and grandfather of St. Elisabeth), Florens of Holland, Engelbert von Berg, Ruprecht of Nassau, the Counts von Henneberg, Diez, Saarbrück, Salm, Wied, Bentheim, Hohenlohe, Kiburg, Oettingen, all men of note, Leopold of Austria, and the flower of German chivalry, in all one hundred thousand men. Barbarossa, after sending a solemn declaration of war to Salaheddin,² broke up his camp in 1188; met with a friendly

¹ He set fire to the dry grass under the feet of the Christians.

² *Norunt hæc reges et tu quidem in ipsa rerum experientia intelliges, quid*

reception from Bela, king of Hungary, held a magnificent tournament at Belgrade, hanged all the Servians—whose robber bands harassed him on his march—that fell into his hands, as common thieves, and advanced into the plains of Roumelia. The Greek emperor, Isaac, who was on friendly terms with him, and had promised to furnish his army with provisions, broke his word, and, besides countenancing the hostility with which the crusaders were treated by his subjects, threw the Count von Diez, whom Frederick sent to him, into prison. Barbarossa, upon this, gave his soldiery license to plunder, and the beautiful country was speedily laid waste. The Cumans, Isaac's mercenaries, fled before the Germans, who revenged the assassination of some pilgrims, by destroying the city of Manicava, and by putting four thousand of the inhabitants to the sword. The large city of Philippopolis, where the sick and wounded Germans who had been left there had been mercilessly slaughtered by the inhabitants, shared the same fate. These acts of retributive justice performed, Barbarossa advanced against Constantinople, where Isaac, in order to secure his capital from destruction, placed the whole fleet at his disposal. The crusaders no sooner reached Asia Minor than the Greeks recommenced their former treacherous practices, and the sultan of Iconium, who, through jealousy of Salaheddin's power, had entered into a friendly alliance with the emperor, also attacked him. Barbarossa defeated all their attempts. On one occasion, he concealed the flower of his troops in a large tent, the gift of the Hungarian queen, and pretended to fly before the Turks, who no sooner commenced pillaging the abandoned camp than the knights rushed forth and cut them down. A Turkish prisoner who was driven in chains in ad-

nostræ victrices Aquilæ, quid cohortes diversarum nationum, quid furor Teutonicus, etiam in pace arma capescens, quid caput indomitum regni, quid juvenus, quæ nunquam fugam novit, quid procerus Bavarus, quid Suavus astutus, quid Francia circumspecta, quid Albania, quid Cimbria, quid in gladio ludens Saxonia, quid Thuringia, quid Westphalia, quid agilis Brabantia, quid nescia pacis Lotharingia, quid inquieta Burgundia, quid Frisonia in armento prævolans, quid Boemia suis feris ferior, quid Austria, quid partes Illyricæ, quid Lombardia, denique quid dextera nostra possit. Thus powerful was Germany when united.

vance of the army, in order to serve as guide, sacrificed his life for the sake of misleading the Christians amid the pathless mountains, where, starving with hunger, tormented by thirst, foot-weary and faint, they were suddenly attacked on every side. Stones were rolled upon their heads as they advanced through the narrow gorge, and the young duke of Swabia narrowly escaped, his helmet being struck off his head. Peace was now offered by the Turks on payment of a large sum of money; to this the emperor replied by sending them a small silver coin, which they were at liberty to divide among themselves, and pushing boldly forward, beat off the enemy. The sufferings of the army rapidly increased; water was nowhere to be discovered, and they were reduced to the necessity of drinking the blood of their horses. The aged emperor encouraged his troops by his words, and was answered by the Swabians, who raised their native war-song. His son, Frederick, hastened forward with half of the army, again defeated the Turks, and fought his way to Iconium, entered the city with the retreating enemy, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and gained an immense booty. Barbarossa was, meanwhile, surrounded by the sultan's army. His soldiers were almost worn out with fatigue and hunger. The aged emperor, believing his son lost, burst into tears. All wept around him; when suddenly rising he exclaimed, "Christ still lives, Christ conquers!" and heading his chivalry to the assault, they attacked the enemy and gained a complete victory. Ten thousand Turks were slain. Several fell beneath the hand of Barbarossa himself, who emulated in his old age the deeds of his youth. Iconium, where plenty awaited them, was at length reached. After recruiting here, they continued their march as far as the little river Calicadnus (Seleph), in Cilicia, where the road happening to be blocked up with beasts of burden, the impatient old emperor, instead of waiting, attempted to cross the stream on horseback, and was carried away by the torrent. His body was recovered, and borne by his sorrowing army to Antioch, where it was entombed in St. Peter's church (1190).

The news of the death of their great emperor was received with incredulity by the Germans, whose dreamy hope of being one day ruled by a dynasty of mighty sovereigns, who should unite a peaceful world beneath their sway, at length almost identified itself with that of Barbarossa's return, and gave rise to legendary tales, which still record the popular feeling of the times. In a deep, rocky cleft, in the Kyllhauser Berg, on the golden meadow of Thuringia, still sleeps this great and noble emperor: his head resting on his arm, he sits by a granite block, through which his red beard has grown in the lapse of time; but, when the ravens no longer fly around the mountain, he will awake and restore the golden age to the expectant world. According to another legend, the emperor sits, wrapped in sleep, in the Untersberg, near Salzburg; and when the dead pear-tree on the Walserfeld, which has been cut down three times, but ever grows anew, blossoms, he will come forth, hang his shield on the tree, and commence a tremendous battle, in which the whole world will join, and the good shall overcome the wicked. The attachment which the Germans bore to this emperor is apparent in the action of one solitary individual, Conrad von Boppart, who bestowed a large estate on the monastery of Scho-nau, on condition of masses being read forever for the repose of the soul of his departed sovereign. The little church on the Hohenstaufen, to which it was Barbarossa's custom to descend from the castle in order to hear mass, still stands, and over the walled-up doors may be read the words, "*hic transibat Cæsar.*" Excellent portraits of Frederick and Beatrice may still be seen to the right of the door of the church at Welzheim, which was founded by their son, Philip. But the great palace, seven hundred and ten feet in length, which he built at Gelnhausen, in honor of the beautiful Gela, who is said to have been the mistress of his youthful affections, and who renounced him against his will and took the veil, in order not to be an obstacle in his glorious career, lies in ruins.

CLIII. *Leopold of Austria and Richard Cœur de Lion*

BARBAROSSA'S mighty army had, on its arrival in Antioch, dwindled to less than six thousand men; the rest had fallen victims to war, hunger, and pestilence. The young duke of Swabia led them into the Holy Land, where Conrad of Montserrat defended Tyre¹ with such signal valor that Salaheddin was finally compelled to relinquish the siege. Antioch held out, while Bohemund III. sued Salaheddin for peace. Tripolis was defended by a fleet, sent by William, king of Sicily. A re-enforcement of crusaders being expected, Salaheddin feared lest Conrad might gain possession of the crown of Jerusalem; and, in order again to weaken the Christians by reawakening their mutual jealousy, he restored King Guido to liberty, and Conrad's claim was consequently set aside. In 1189, Guido undertook the siege of Accon (Ptolemais), which, notwithstanding the assistance he received from fresh troops of pilgrims, lasted full two years. This city being the key of Palestine from the sea, and extremely important in a commercial point of view, its possession greatly interested the Pisanese. The besieging army, at first numerically weak, was one day thrown into great terror by the arrival of an enormous fleet, which to their delight proved to be composed of Flemings, Dutch, Friscians, Danes, and English, commanded by Jacob d'Avesnes and the archbishop of Canterbury. Count Adolf von Schauenburg (Holstein) and the count of Guelders were also on board. The Landgrave Louis of Thuringia, his brother Hermann, the lords of Altenburg, Arnstein, Schwarzburg, Heldungen, Beichlingen, Mansfeld, etc., arrived at the same time at Tyre, and marched with them to Accon, and a furious contest took place between them and the garrison of that place on one side, and with Salaheddin, who had ad-

¹ When Salaheddin threatened to expose his captive father to his fire, he replied, "It will be an honor for me to have descended from a martyr." He craftily led the Egyptian fleet into the harbor and destroyed it.

vanced to its relief, on the other. Louis of Thuringia was nominated commander-in-chief, and valiantly headed his troops against the enemy, his superior in number. In the following year (1190), some French arrived under Henry, count of Champagne, and a part of the great German army under Leopold of Austria, who had hastened in advance, accompanied by Berthold von Meran and the nobles of the upper country. Louis of Thuringia, whose health had given way, now departed, but expired during the voyage home. Frederick of Swabia and the rest of the German army soon after also arrived, and took an active part in the siege; every attempt, nevertheless, failed; the city, supported from without by Salaheddin, continued to hold out, and a pestilence broke out in the Christian camp, to which Frederick of Swabia fell a victim. The Hospitalers, who chiefly consisted of French, disregarding the rules of their order, and neglecting the sick and wounded Germans, some citizens of Bremen and Lubeck founded the order of Teutonic knights, who were distinguished by a black cross on a white mantle, who vowed to tend the sick, to practice holiness and chastity, and to combat the infidels. They were termed the Marians, in honor of the holy Virgin, and at first excited little notice. Their first grand-master was Waldpot von Bassenheim. Waldpot signifies "nobilis civis"; the citizens, by whom the order was founded, were partly ancient burghers and partly common merchants. It was afterward entirely composed of nobles, as may be seen in an inscription on the town-house at Bremen:

"Vele Christen van groter litte sin krank geworden,
Datt gaff eene Ohrsake dem ridderliken düdschen Orden,
De van de Bremern und Lübschen ersten befenget,
Darnach hefft sich de Adele dar oock mede angehenget.
Dorna sind se oock in Lietland gekamen,
So dat de Orden is grohter und Mächtiger geworden.
Averst niemand mag gestadet werden in den Orden
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It is further remarkable that the house belonging to this order in Bremen was founded by the Cordovan (Spanish

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leather) makers. The second grand-master of the Marians was Otto von Carpen, also a citizen of Bremen; the third was Hermann Barth, who had formerly been the Danish warden at Lubeck, and who was led by remorse for the cruelty with which he had, during a dreadfully bitter winter, refused alms to a woman and her sick child, whom he afterward found frozen to death, to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he entered the Teutonic order.

On the death of Frederick, Leopold of Austria took the command of the German forces. Once, when storming a town, his white coat of arms was so completely soaked in blood that the middle beneath the girdle alone remained white. This bloody coat of arms, represented by a white bar on a red field, was adopted by him instead of the escutcheon he had hitherto borne, that of Babenberg, an eagle or a lark, and has been retained by Austria to the present day. The knights at this time generally wore scale armor, whence they were compared by Arabian writers to glistening snakes. At an earlier period they used a more simple style of armor, composed of small rings, and at a later period plate-armor. The scale armor thus formed the transition from one to the other.

Conrad of Montserrat again attempted to place himself at the head of affairs in the East, and espoused Isabella, the sister of Sibylla, who had been removed by death. The imbecile king, Guido, who was to have abdicated in his favor, being upheld by the French, refused compliance. Conrad, on account of his German descent and vassalage to the emperor, was backed by the Germans. Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, and Philip, king of France, arrived at this crisis; the former at the head of a powerful force, the latter accompanied by the aged Philip of Flanders, who died before Accon of the plague. Richard, who had taken the island of Cyprus from the Greeks on his way to the Holy Land, arrogated to himself the chief command of the allied crusaders. Accon, exhausted by the long siege, at length surrendered (1191). Richard and Philip garrisoned the citadel;



TILLY ASKS FOR THE SURRENDER OF MAGDEBURG

the services of the Germans, who were inferior in point of numbers, were forgotten; and they were excluded, and Leopold was reduced to the necessity of borrowing money from the wealthy English monarch in order to procure provisions for his troops. Philip Augustus, king of France, unable to tolerate the insolence of the English monarch, returned home. The Germans, however, remained, with patient endurance, and aided in gaining the great victory of Arsuf over Salaheddin, in which Jacob d'Avesnes fell, gallantly fighting. Leopold was, notwithstanding, unable to repress his displeasure on Richard's attempt to make use of the Germans in rebuilding Ascalon, which had been completely destroyed by Salaheddin, replying to the haughty and overbearing monarch that "he was neither a mason nor a carpenter." Richard, enraged at this retort, cast Leopold's banner forth from his camp, and, as Leopold still delayed his departure, ordered his colors to be torn down and dragged through the streets. Leopold, too weak to avenge the insult, quietly withdrew.

Richard carried on the contest with Salaheddin, but, notwithstanding the valor for which he was so justly famed, all his efforts proved ineffectual, on account of his unwillingness to attack Jerusalem, which arose either from an idea of its invincible strength, or from his indisposition to increase the power of the king Guido, who now solely depended upon him. He was even suspected of being implicated in the murder of Conrad of Montserrat, whom the Pullanes were desirous of electing in the place of their imbecile monarch, and who had been stabbed by two assassins. Henry de Champagne, who espoused Conrad's widow, became king of Jerusalem, and Guido, in compensation, received the crown of Cyprus (1192). Richard's obstinate refusal to advance on Jerusalem at length so enraged the remaining German and French crusaders that they marched off under the command of Hugh, duke of Burgundy, after a stormy dispute with the English. Hugh expired in a fit of rage before reaching the coast; the report of his having been poisoned was currently believed.

Richard now concluded peace with Salaheddin, who granted him permission to visit Jerusalem with his followers, divided into small companies, in order to pay his devotions at the Holy Sepulcher.

In the winter of 1193, Richard departed for England, taking his way by land through Germany, and traversing Austria. His endeavors to conceal himself were unavailing, and he was discovered when sitting in a kitchen cooking a fowl in the village of Erdberg, near Vienna. He was arrested at Leopold's command, and imprisoned in the castle of Durenstein on the Danube; an unknighly action, but fully deserved by Richard. But although the manner in which he was captured was ignoble, the emperor Henry VI., Barbarossa's son and successor, was justified in bringing him as a criminal before the tribunal of the empire. He, accordingly, ordered him to be carried to Worms for the purpose of interrogating him in the diet. The principal crime of which he was accused was the murder of a prince of the German empire, the gallant Conrad of Montserrat, of which he endeavored to clear himself. He was then accused of having withheld from the Germans their share of the booty gained at Acon, and was condemned to make compensation for the loss. It should also be remarked that, besides not protesting against the judicial power exercised by the emperor, he performed homage to Henry VI., as a vassal of the holy Roman empire, in the presence of several English nobles; nor was this proceeding deemed irregular, the emperor being universally regarded as the actual liege of every monarch in Christendom. Richard also did not afterward protest against this act, and the English vote was given at the election of the emperor Otto IV. While the ransom of one hundred and fifty thousand silver marks was being collected in England, and Richard was retained in honorable imprisonment at Mayence, his mother Eleanore, now seventy years of age, carried her complaints through Europe. The pope, jealous of his supremacy, enjoined the emperor to renounce his judicial power, and instantly to restore Richard to liberty, but Henry treated

even his threat of excommunication with indifference, and when the king of France was on the point of invading Normandy, during the absence of her sovereign, he instantly notified to him that he should consider himself aggrieved in the person of his captive. This manly and decisive conduct on the part of the emperor effectually repelled all further attempts at aggression on the side of either the French monarch or of the pope, and on payment of the ransom in 1194, Richard was restored to liberty. This humiliation of the brutal English monarch before the diet was a just retaliation for the affront offered by him to the arms of Babenberg, and the heavy ransom levied upon his people rendered them sensible that the majesty of Germany was not to be offended with impunity.¹ The emperor acted well and nobly, but Leopold, the cowardly captor of an unarmed foe, was deservedly an object of general scorn; the pope vented his rage by placing him under an interdict, and his being shortly afterward thrown from horseback and breaking one of his legs was universally regarded as a visitation of Providence. At that time the art of surgery was unknown. Mortification took place; the duke, seizing an ax, held it above the broken part of the limb, while his attendant struck upon it with a mallet and severed it from his body. The consequences proved mortal. Styria, whose reigning counts were extinct, was annexed in his time to Austria, and the walls of Vienna were raised with the ransom of England's king.

CLIV. *Henry the Sixth*

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA had no sooner departed from Asia than Henry the Lion returned to Germany and attempted to reconquer his duchy of Saxony. In the general confusion, the Ditmarses, dissatisfied with the government of the archbishop of Bremen, severed themselves from the empire and

¹ It seems, then, that the majesty of Germany had its price.—*Trans.*

swore fealty to Denmark. The rights of Adolf III. of Holstein, who had accompanied the crusade, were defended by Adolf von Dassel, brother to Reinold, archbishop of Cologne, and by the young Count Bernard von Ratzeburg, against Henry, who was upheld by Bernard's father, and by Guntzel von Schwerin. The imperialists were defeated by the Welfs at Boitzenburg, and the Lion destroyed the city of Bardewik, in reward for the insolence with which he had been formerly treated by its inhabitants, whom he mercilessly put to the sword. Henry VI., then regent of the empire, revenged the fate of Bardewik by burning down the city of Hanover, which favored the duke. Brunswick withstood his attack, and on learning the death of his father, he concluded a truce and hastened into Italy, in order to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff. This consideration also induced him to leave the Landgrave Hermann, the brother of the ill-fated Louis of Thuringia, in undisturbed possession of that duchy, to which he had at first laid claim as a fief lapsed to the crown. This Landgrave held a peaceful and stately court on the Wartburg, whither he invited all the best and noblest bards of Germany.

A complete reconciliation took place between the Hohenstaufen and the Welfs on the emperor's return from Italy. Frederick Barbarossa, during his earlier days of friendship, had affianced Agnes, the lovely daughter of his brother Philip, the Rhenish Pfalzgraf, to Henry, the eldest son of Henry the Lion. This betrothal had been forgotten during the subsequent feud that arose between Henry and the emperor, and Agnes had been proposed in marriage to Philip Augustus, king of France. The youthful bridegroom, meanwhile, visited the castle of Stahlet—where Agnes dwelt with her mother—in disguise, gained her affections, and secretly married her.¹ Philip, on discovering this affair, was at first

¹ Stahlet, a fine castle with sixteen towers, whose ruins still command the little town of Bacharach. The legend relates that the Pfalzgraf had imprisoned his beauteous daughter in the Pfalzgrafenstein, a small tower standing in the middle of the Rhine near Bacharach, where Henry, whose love was favored by her mother, contrived to hold intercourse with her under the disguise of a pil-

greatly offended, but afterward pardoned his daughter and her husband, and interceded for them with the emperor and Henry the Lion, who, notwithstanding the complaints of the French court, consented to the marriage. Henry the Lion expired in the course of the same year (1195) at Brunswick, where he amused himself during the last period of his life in collecting and perusing old chronicles. His memory was greatly revered by the Saxons. Brunswick, now the only patrimony of the Welfs, was divided between Otto and William, the younger sons of Henry the Lion, whose eldest son, Henry, succeeded his father-in-law, Philip, in the Rhenish Pfalzgraviate, and remained true to his allegiance to the emperor.

In Meissen, Otto the Rich had discovered large mines, and founded the mining town of Freiburg. Toward the end of his life, in 1189, he was thrown into prison, where he died, by his ungrateful son, Albrecht the Proud, for having refused to disinherit his younger son, Dietrich the Oppressed. Dietrich was driven into exile by his brother, and marrying the daughter of Hermann of Thuringia, who was famed for her ugliness, was enabled, by his father-in-law's aid, to retain possession of Weissenfels. He afterward made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Albrecht and his Bohemian wife, Sophia, were poisoned by order of the emperor, who coveted the rich mines of Meissen, and a plot was laid to assassinate Dietrich in Palestine; but his suspicions being aroused, he had himself carried on board a vessel, concealed in a cask, and escaped (1195). The emperor's absence in Italy, where he shortly afterward expired, insured his safety, and with it the continuance of the house of Wettin.'

Henry VI. inherited his father's energy, but was devoid

grim. Philip's only alternative, on finding that they were united in indissoluble bonds, was to ride over to Spire, in order to propitiate the emperor. He ordained, in memory of this event, that every future Pfalzgraviate should spend the term of her lying in in this little tower, which should thus become the birth-place of every future Pfalzgraf.

¹ One of his cousins, Dido von der Lausitz, was extremely corpulent, and, in order to reduce himself in size, had the fat cut out of his body. He died under the operation (1190).

of his nobler qualities. He made use of ignoble means for the attainment of his purposes, was cold-blooded and cruel. True to his father's principles, he sought to lower the authority of the pope in Italy itself. William, king of Apulia and Sicily, died without issue, in 1190. His aunt, Constantia, Henry's consort, being next in descent, he instantly claimed the inheritance; but being at that time at open war with Henry the Lion, Tancred, count of Lecce, a natural grandchild of Roger, seized the opportunity to be crowned king at Palermo, in the hope that the cities of Lombardy would bar the advance of the emperor; they were, however, as usual, at feud with one another, and on Henry's unexpected arrival in Italy, in the autumn of 1190, many of them fell into his hands, and the pope was induced, through dread of his power, to crown him during Easter at Rome, in 1191.¹ With the view of gaining the favor of the Romans, who had ever evinced the greatest antipathy to the German emperors, Henry treacherously delivered up to them the neighboring town of Tivoli, which had rendered great services to his father, whose cause it had strongly upheld. The Romans instantly destroyed the town and murdered the inhabitants. Henry then advanced upon Naples, but his army being attacked by pestilence, his numbers were greatly diminished; his consort, Constantia, was delivered up to Tancred by the citizens of Salerno, and he was compelled to return to Germany in order to recruit his forces. Tancred, meanwhile, was equally unsuccessful. A faction forming in Constantia's favor, he voluntarily restored her to liberty; an evident proof of his inability to cope with the emperor. He died in 1194. His widow, Sibylla, and his young son, William, were left helpless, and on the emperor's return during the same year to Italy, Naples threw open her gates to him, Salerno was taken by storm and plundered, and

¹ Roger of Hoveden, the English historian, relates that Celestin III placed the crown on the head of the kneeling emperor with his feet, and then cast it to the ground with his foot, in sign of the power he possessed of bestowing it upon him, and of depriving him of it.

Sicily submitted after a battle gained by Henry von Calatin (Kelten), the bravest of the emperor's followers (the founder of the house of Pappenheim), at Catanea, at the foot of Mount Etna. The emperor, in order to get William out of the hands of the wretched Sibylla, fraudulently promised to bestow upon him his patrimonial inheritance of Lecce and Tarentum; but no sooner had him under his guardianship than he caused him to be deprived of sight and mutilated, for a pretended charge of conspiracy, the 26th of December, 1194. The empress Constantia was delivered of a son¹ at the very time this crime, which was repaid doublefold on him and his descendants, was committed. William was imprisoned in the castle of Hohenemb in Swabia, where he shortly afterward expired.

The most cruel torments were inflicted upon every partisan of the ancient Norman dynasty. A Count Jordan, who was supposed to be secretly favored by Constantia, was placed upon a throne of red-hot iron and a red-hot crown was nailed upon his head. Richard, one of Tancred's brothers-in-law, was dragged to death at a horse's tail. It was in vain that the pope, Celestin III., who beheld Henry's increasing power in Lower Italy with dread, placed him under an interdict; he was treated with contempt; every malcontent was either executed or dragged into Germany, and the lands of the Countess Matilda were bestowed on Duke Philip, with the view of reducing Upper Italy to a similar state of subserviency. Philip, who had originally been destined for the church, was, moreover, presented with the hand of a beautiful Grecian princess, Irene, the youthful widow of Roger (who died early), the son of Tancred, with whom she had been captured in Sicily. Her father, Isaac, the Greek emperor, was deposed and deprived of sight by his brother Alexius, who was called to account for this crime by Henry, and threatened with an invasion on the part of the Germans,

¹ This child, who afterward ascended the throne as Frederick II., is said to have been born at Esù, in the district of Ancona, and to have been christened at Assisi.

“who had angry eyes instead of shining diamonds, and, instead of pearls, brows trickling with the sweat of battle.” Alexius paid a considerable tribute. Henry, nevertheless, had a serious intention of annexing Greece, of which Irene was the only rightful heir, to the German empire, and a crusade was set on foot as a means of carrying this project into execution in 1196. It was headed by the archbishop of Mayence, the chancellor, Conrad, who was accompanied by the dukes of Austria, Carinthia, Meran, Thuringia, Brandenburg, Brabant, and by the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen.

Conrad, on reaching Cyprus, received the oath of fealty from the king of that island in the name of the emperor. The king of Armenia afterward also swore allegiance to the empire. In Crete, the Swabian Count von Pfirt had raised himself to the throne, which he afterward exchanged with the Venetians for that of Thessalonica. The extension of the empire over the whole of the Christian East, with Constantinople to his back in Asia Minor, formed the scheme Henry now sought to realize. The sons of Salaheddin, who had expired in 1193, were striving with one another for the sovereignty. Bohemund III. of Antioch had been taken prisoner by the Old Man of the Mountain. Henry de Champagne, king of Jerusalem, visited this assassin king, and solicited his friendship.¹ He shortly afterward fell out of his palace window down a precipice. The Germans under Conrad arrived simultaneously with a Dutch fleet from Bremen, Friesland, etc., which had on its way taken the city of Silves in Portugal. At this period, as it was not birth, but bravery and skill, that caused a man to be elected commander-in-chief, that office was delegated to Walram von Limburg, a younger brother of the Brabanter, and to Henry von Kelten (Pappenheim), who had already distinguished himself in a former crusade, and in Sicily. Sidon, where a great victory

¹ In order to prove to his visitor the extraordinary obedience of the assassins, the old man ordered two of them to throw themselves headlong from the rocks, and was instantly obeyed.

was gained, was quickly taken; Berytos and other cities fell into their hands; Thoron was soon the only one on the sea-coast held by the infidels, and the systematic plan on which the reconquest of the Holy Land was now conducted, favored by the weakness and disunion of the Turkish government, seemed on the point of succeeding, and the crusaders were engaged in the siege of Thoron, when the news of the death of the emperor arrived. The German camp was instantly in commotion, and part of the crusaders returning home, the rest were too much weakened to continue the war and followed their example. Frederick of Austria died in the Holy Land. Thus ended the vast projects of Henry VI., beneath whose scepter the power of Germany founded by Barbarossa would have been confirmed and extended. He expired suddenly in 1197, in the prime of life, at Messina. His death was occasioned by an iced beverage or by poison. The pope, Celestin III., a man of weak ability, died during the same year, and was succeeded by Innocent III., whose powerful intellect humbled the power of the proud Hohenstaufen, which was upheld in Germany by the last of the sons of Barbarossa, Philip the Gentle, against the great faction of the Welfs, and in Italy by Henry's young son, Frederick, against the pope and the Guelphs. Philip, after a toilsome struggle, succeeded in asserting his independence in Germany, to which he was compelled to limit himself, while Frederick and the whole of Italy fell under the rule of the pope. Constantia plainly perceived that her son was lost unless she threw herself into the arms of the pontiff, who spared the royal child, from whom he had nothing to dread, with the idea of setting him up, at some future period, as a pretender to the imperial crown, in opposition to any emperor who might prove refractory; besides which, Constantia's voluntary submission conferred upon him an appearance of right, which he could otherwise have only gained by force. Frederick was, in 1198, crowned king of Apulia and Sicily; his kingdom was, however, held in fee of the pope, to whom he paid an annual tribute. Constantia also bestowed the

duchies of Spoleto and Ravenna on the pope, besides the district of Ancona, which was annexed to the State of the Church, after the expulsion of the German governor, Marquardt von Anweiler. These grants were confirmed in her will by Constantia, who expired in the course of the same year. A German general, Diephold, who had been created Count d'Acerra by Henry, was the only one who still offered any opposition; he was opposed by Walther, count de Brienne, who had married a sister of the murdered William, and in her right laid a claim to Lecce and Tarentum. A pitched battle took place between Diephold and Walther, in 1205, in which, although the former was victorious, he was compelled, through want of aid from Germany, to make terms with the pope, and went to Palermo, where he entered the service of the young monarch. Rome also submitted to the pope. The Lombard Guelphs hailed their deliverance from the German yoke with delight, and thus the whole of Italy became a papal province.

Innocent III., by his masterly management of his power, founded upon the superstition of the people, gradually placed all the temporal sovereigns of Europe beneath his guidance. In Germany the emperor and his rival courted his favor, and emulated each other in their concessions. In France, Philip Augustus, who had attempted to impose restrictions on the clergy, was quickly humbled by the interdict. John of England received similar treatment, and the monarchs of Spain, Norway, and Hungary, the princes of Poland, Dalmatia, and even of Bulgaria, bent in lowly submission to his decree.

CLV. *Philip, and Otto the Fourth*

DURING the prolonged absence of the emperor in Italy, feuds had again become general throughout Germany. The attempts made by the bishops to increase their power and to extend their authority produced violent contests between them and the nobility or the people; hence arose the feuds between Mayence and the Thuringians, Utrecht and the

Friscians, Passau and the Count von Ortenburg, Salzburg and Ratisbon and Louis of Bavaria. The ambition of the princes gave rise to similar disputes between themselves; the Count von Hennegau was at feud with the duke of Brabant, and the two brothers, Dietrich and William of Holland, with each other.¹ Even Conrad, the emperor's brother, duke of Swabia, resuscitated the ancient feud that had formerly been carried on between him and his neighbor, Berthold von Zähringen. He was taken in adultery at Durlach, and killed (1197). His brother Philip succeeded to Swabia and to the imperial throne. The princes of Bavaria, Austria, Carinthia, Meran, and Bohemia, remained true to their allegiance to the Hohenstaufen, and even Berthold von Zähringen, sensible of the advantage of being on good terms with his powerful neighbor, was conciliated. Philip, who, in 1198, was elected emperor at Mühlhausen,² was also upheld by the bishops of Northern Germany and by the Slavian Margraves; in fact, by all who had gained in wealth or power by the fall of the Welfs. Otto, the son of Henry the Lion, also pretended to the crown, but the faction of the Welfs being extremely weak in Germany, he sought the alliance of England and Denmark (to whose king, Waldemar II., he wedded his daughter, and resigned Holstein, Hamburg, Lubeck, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania), and the favor of the pope, whose policy it was to create a counterpoise to the power of the Hohenstaufen. Otto IV. was, consequently, elected emperor by his faction at Cologne, which city he took by force, the pope declaring at the same time to the princes of Germany that the election depended on him alone, kings

¹ The sons of Florentia, who expired in the Holy Land. Dietrich's heroic wife, Adelheid, fought at his side on horseback against William, who was defeated at Alkmar, and afterward seized during an interview to which he had been invited under pretense of bringing about a reconciliation. He escaped, gained a complete victory at Hunsger, and threw his brother into prison, where he expired. Ada, the daughter of Dietrich, married a Count von Loon, who was also captured.

² Two years earlier he had celebrated his nuptials with Irene at Augsburg. His gentle manners and Irene's beauty won every heart. An account of the court held at Magdeburg by this amiable pair has been handed down to our times in the verse of Walther von der Vogelweide.

reigning over separate countries, the pope over the universe; and in virtue of this self-arrogated right bestowed the imperial title on Otto, who, in return, recognized him as his liege, and took the oath of unconditional obedience, which was received in the pope's name by the cardinal-legate, Guido, who, on this occasion, introduced the ceremony of the elevation of the host (during the celebration of mass) before the prostrate congregation. The Rhenish bishops, who had primarily declared in Philip's favor, were induced by Henry the Pfalzgraf, by means of promises and bribes, to countenance his brother Otto. Among other things, he resigned the government of Treves, which he held from the crown, to the archbishop, who thus became the master of the city. The church lost no opportunity, however trifling, of increasing her authority at the expense of the temporal lords. The feud between the emperors was carried on on the Rhine. Strasburg was besieged by Philip (1199), and Otto, when advancing to her relief, was defeated. Ottocar of Bohemia,¹ Philip's partisan, gave no quarter on the Lower Rhine; a popular insurrection headed by Curt von Arloff was the result; his army was surprised at Nesselroth in the Wupperthal, after a night passed in revelry, and was almost annihilated; Philip, nevertheless, forced his antagonist to retreat into his own territory, and, supported by the Saxon bishops,² besieged him in Brunswick. Otto was successful in a sally, and by means of a fresh intrigue received a considerable addition to his forces; Hermann of Thuringia³ rose in his favor, and Ottocar of Bohemia went over to his

¹ The Bohemians seem to have still retained some of their ancient barbarity, and to have imbibed but scant respect for their new religion. They made horse-cloths of the altar-covers, stripped the captive nuns bare, tarred and feathered their bodies, and sent them swimming down the Rhine.—*Montanus*.

² Who dreaded a Saxon emperor more than one of Upper Germany; the Rhenish bishops, on the contrary, promised themselves greater independence and credit under a Saxon one.

³ He has been accused of the murder of Conrad, bishop of Wurzburg, Philip's most active adherent. According to others, this bishop was assassinated by the nobles for having condemned two young noblemen to death for dishonoring a burgher's daughter. The pope inflicted such a mild punishment on his assassins that the enraged populace leveled their castles with the ground.

side; but being forced to retreat from the vicinity of Erfurt, where he exercised the most horrid barbarity, by the peasantry headed by Otto von Brenen, he listened to the persuasions of the Wittelsbacher of Bavaria, with whom he was connected by marriage, and returned to his allegiance. Philip, after twice defeating Bruno of Cologne,¹ Otto's most powerful partisan on the Rhine, invaded Thuringia, upon which Hermann threw himself at his feet and abandoned Otto's now hopeless cause. The pope also was induced by this turn in affairs to recognize Philip, an act of condescension for which he was repaid by the sacrifice of Italy, and the humble recognition of his supremacy. An interview at length took place between Philip and Otto at Cologne, where terms of peace were agreed to.

The Wittelsbacher in Bavaria, who owed their elevation to the Staufens, had ever repaid their debt of gratitude by the services they rendered. Otto was succeeded by his son Louis,² whose cousin, Otto, became Philip's most inveterate foe. Philip had promised to bestow upon him the hand of one of his daughters, but afterward refused to fulfill his engagement, partly on account of Otto's licentious manners and guilt (he had already committed murder), and partly because he had higher matches in view for his daughters (in particular, an alliance with the Welfs as a means of conciliation). Otto then sought the hand of a daughter of Henry the Bearded of Silesia, and being inconsiderately charged by Philip with a letter of warning to his intended father-in-law, he broke the seal on his way to Silesia, and on reading the contents instantly returned, and hastening to Bamberg (old Babenburg), where the emperor was then holding his court, entered his apartment and ran him through with his sword as he sat at chess (1208). He escaped after

¹ Count Adolf von Berg fought at one time against Philip, and, at another time, in his favor. So suddenly at that period did men change sides.

² Louis one day promised marriage to Ludmilla, the widow of the wild robber knight, Albrecht von Berg, taking in witness of his oath three knights whose figures were portrayed on the tapestried walls, when three living knights suddenly came forth from behind the figures and compelled him to keep his word.

wounding in the face Henry von Waldburg, the imperial Truchsess, who attempted to seize him.

Irene of Greece, Philip's mourning widow, was conducted by Louis of Wurtemberg to the ancestral castle of the Hohenstaufen, where she died before long of grief. On her death, her youthful daughter, Beatrice, threw herself weeping at the feet of her father's former competitor, Otto IV., and implored his protection and vengeance on her father's murderer. Her entreaties were listened to. The murderer was slain at Ebrach on the Danube, his memory was cursed, and his castle of Wittelsbach reduced to ruins. Frederick of Palermo, the young king of Sicily, was now the only male heir of the Hohenstaufen, and Otto the Welf, dreading lest he might succeed in attaching the partisans of that house in Germany, to whom he was still a stranger, to his person, by a marriage with Beatrice, affianced himself to her, the celebration of the nuptials being delayed on account of her extreme youth. His position was, notwithstanding, extremely critical. Ruin was inevitable, if the pretensions of young Frederick were brought forward by the pope. His whole anxiety was consequently to win the pontiff's favor. In 1209, he accordingly paid him a visit, humbled himself before him, confirmed him in the possession of the lands of the Countess Matilda, the right of investiture, even the induction of the bishops independently of the right of election possessed by the chapters, and took the oath of unconditional obedience. The imperial crown was his reward. The presence of the Germans, however, again roused the passions of the Roman populace; an insurrection took place, and the Germans were driven out of the city. The non-interference of the pope, on this occasion, at length roused the emperor's sense of honor, and he ventured to offer some opposition, by withholding from him Tuscany and the district of Ancona, which he bestowed upon Azzo d'Este. Innocent retaliated by a short but sure measure, by excommunicating his weak opponent, and by commanding the princes of Germany to elect his protégé, Frederick, emperor (1211).

Otto, in the intention of first disencumbering himself of his rival, marched quickly into Lower Italy, and was on the point of crossing over to Sicily, in order, with the assistance of the treacherous Diephold, to seize Frederick in Palermo, when he received the news of the obedience of the German princes to the pope's mandate, and of the election of Frederick by a diet held at Bamberg, and hastily recrossing the Alps, stoutly attacked his adversaries. He laid the archbishopric of Magdeburg waste, put the king of Bohemia out of the ban of the empire, and would in all probability have reinstated himself, had not Frederick suddenly made his appearance in Germany. Beatrice, Otto's beauteous and youthful bride, whom he had espoused at Nordhausen, and by whose means he had hoped to gain over the whole of the Hohenstaufen faction in Germany, expired a few days after the solemnization of the nuptials, it was said of poison administered to her by his mistresses (1212). The Swabians and Bavarians instantly quitted his camp and returned home.

Innocent III., who in his boundless ambition sought to extend his sway over the East as well as over the West, incessantly stirred up the people for the formation of crusades. In 1198, Otto of Brandenburg had made a solitary pilgrimage to the sepulcher. In 1202, a large army of crusaders assembled under Baldwin, count of Flanders, Boniface de Montferrat, Conrad, bishop of Halberstadt, etc. On reaching Venice, they were retained by the doge, Dandolo, who proposed the conquest of Greece before that of the Holy Land. His object was to deprive Constantinople of the commerce with the East; Baldwin, however, coveted the imperial crown. The rage of the pope, on this intelligence, was extreme, and he instantly placed the whole of the crusade under excommunication, which occasioned the more piously inclined among the Germans to quit the army (the majority of which pronounced in favor of Baldwin and of the Venetians), and to set out alone for the Holy Land. The greatest anarchy prevailed at that time in Constantinople; the father

contended with his son, the servant with his lord, one emperor supplanted the other. The city, nevertheless, defended by her strong fortifications, and by the immense number of her inhabitants, resisted every attack, and the crusaders were compelled to create a party in their favor by embracing that of the emperor Alexius Angelus, in whose name they succeeded in taking possession of the city for the first time (1203). This emperor being assassinated by his competitor, Alexius Ducas, they conquered Constantinople a second time, but for themselves (1204). The circumjacent country was quickly reduced to submission; each leader took possession of a city or a castle for himself; new counties and principalities were founded in ancient Hellas. Baldwin of Flanders, who had placed the crown of the Byzantine emperors on his own brow, did not long enjoy the elevation to which he had attained; John, king of Wallachia and Bulgaria, invaded his empire, carried all before him, and took him prisoner (1205). The Wallachian queen became enamored of her husband's captive, and offered to restore him to liberty on condition of sharing his throne as empress. On Baldwin's refusal, she persuaded her husband to order his hands and feet to be struck off.¹ Baldwin's fidelity to his wife, Maria, was equaled by hers; she followed him to Greece with the Flemish fleet, and had the good fortune to die before him. Boniface de Montferrat also fell in the battle. Henry, Baldwin's brother, mounted the imperial throne, but was poisoned by a Bulgarian princess whom he had married. His brother-in-law and successor, Peter d'Auxerre, was thrown into prison, where he died, by the Greeks, who regained courage and ere long reconquered their metropolis.

The German crusaders, who, influenced by the dread of excommunication, had refused to accompany Baldwin, and

¹ Vide Raumer. Baldwin's daughter, Johanna, surnamed of Jerusalem, ordered an impostor, who gave himself out as her father and demanded the cession of Flanders, to be cruelly tortured and hanged. Her conscience afterward smote her for this deed, and being tormented with the idea that he might in reality have been her father, she erected a large hospital at Lille, whose walls, windows, furniture, and curtains were covered with gallows.

had set off as common pilgrims for the Holy Land, were conducted by their leader, the Abbot Martin, an Alsatian, to Accon, where the Flemish fleet also arrived, under the command of John de Neele, the bailiff of Bruges, who insolently refused to join Baldwin at Constantinople, although his consort, the Countess Maria, was on board. This lady had awaited her accouchement in Flanders, and then hastened after her husband. She died at Accon. These pilgrims effectuated nothing. Amalrich of Cyprus, who by his marriage with Isabella, the widow of Conrad and Henry, had seated himself on the throne of Jerusalem, instead of aiding the Flemings, increased their difficulties, from a dread of being deprived, like the Greek emperor, of his crown. Bohemund of Antioch was incessantly at feud with the Christian Armenians. The pilgrims, on discovering the futility of their endeavors, returned home. Amalrich died. Iolantha, Isabella's daughter by the gallant Conrad de Montferrat, espoused, in 1210, Count John de Brienne, who became king of Jerusalem. He resided at Accon, unpossessed of wealth or power.

Innocent, undeterred by these mishaps, still continued his exhortations for the formation of fresh crusades, but the princes, engaged at home with their own affairs, and warned by the ill success of those that had already been undertaken, either refused, or made promises they did not intend to fulfill. The preaching of the crusades, the zeal of the clergy, and the delay on the part of the princes, had, meanwhile, excited the imagination of the multitude, more especially that of the young people of both sexes, to the highest pitch of frenzy. At Cologne, a boy, named Nicolaus, announced that Christ would alone bestow his promised land on innocent children, assembled a multitude of children, and led seven thousand boys and girls across the Alps. Several of these children, of noble families, were retained at Genoa, and became the founders of different races of Genoese nobles. In Italy, this extraordinary crusade (which would certainly have never been generally countenanced had it not been

viewed by the papists as a means¹ for the attainment of their design) broke up. Numbers of these children remained in Italy; others set sail for the Holy Land, whence they never returned; very few retraced their steps to Germany (1212). Not long after this, a still more numerous multitude of French children of both sexes arrived; twenty to thirty thousand; part of whom were shipwrecked, the rest were sold by two French slave merchants to the Turks.

The religious enthusiasm of the times, excited to the utmost by the pope, now threatened to overturn his authority. The notion that every action ought to tend to the glory of God, led to the question whether the church walked in his ways, and to the discovery of the difference between her despotism and ambition, and the humility of the Founder of Christianity. The Cathari, or the pure, from whom the name of heretic, that afterward attained such celebrity, was derived, first came, as their Grecian name attests, from the East, spread over Italy and Provence, where they received the name of Albigenses, from the city of Albi. Their aim was the restoration of such a pure evangelical mode of existence that they even rejected the Old Testament. The crusades and the alliance with Greece had infected them with some of the ideas of the ancient Greek-Christian philosophers, the Gnostics, which had been condemned by the church, and probably with some of the doctrines of Islamism; many of them also rejected the Trinity. Some remains of ancient Arianism may also have been preserved among them; the Burgundians and Goths, its most zealous supporters, having been compelled to turn Catholics by the Franks. During the reign of Charlemagne, Bishop Claudius energetically protested at Turin against the worship of images. Thus an anti-Catholic feeling might have been easily preserved among these mountaineers. The Waldenses, in the mountains and at Lyons, were freer from

¹ The father of Nicolaus was afterward executed for imposture at Cologne; and the pope, instead of releasing these children from their vow, merely granted them permission to delay its performance until they were of age.

oriental philosophy than the Albigenses on the coast; their founder, Peter, was surnamed "the Vaudois," probably on account of his being a native of the Waadtland, or of some part of Vaud. They also denominated themselves the "poor people" of Lyons; taught practical Christianity, humility, and brotherly love; rejected all ecclesiastical tenets and denounced all ecclesiastical power; regarding the church, drunk as it were with despotism, luxury, and ambition, as the kingdom of Satan upon earth, the great Babylon cursed for her sins; and the pope, as antichrist.

The necessity of strong measures for the suppression of these heresies was clearly perceived by the church, which, instead of justly estimating the causes whence they had arisen, instead of reforming her own internal abuses and limiting the power she had seized, blind to the future, and regardless of the universal law that excess ever defeats its aim, condemned the heretics unheard, and sought to extirpate them by violence and bloodshed. Innocent prohibited the study of the Bible and the investigation of spiritual matters by the laity, and, instead of teaching those whom he professed to believe in error, instantly had recourse to violence. In 1178, the bloody persecution of the heretics commenced; and in 1198, tribunals, composed of monks who arbitrarily trod law and justice beneath their feet, were established by the pope for the trial of his disobedient children. The tortures anciently made use of by the Romans were re-introduced, and the church, founded upon the doctrine of universal love and brotherhood, first inflicted the punishment of the rack. Those whom pain induced to confess their guilt were condemned to the performance of severe penance; those who refused to confess were burned alive. The whole property of the criminal was confiscated, and served to swell the coffers of the church. There was no appeal beyond this tribunal. The number of heretics, and that of the Albigenses, notwithstanding, increased to such a degree that Innocent caused a crusade to be formally preached against them, in 1209. The heretics, at whose head stood Raimund, count of

Toulouse, were favored by the nobility of the country, and stoutly resisted every attack, defending themselves with unflinching heroism against the fanatical multitudes that poured upon them from every side,¹ until finally overpowered by numbers. Their heresy, nevertheless, was continued in secret from one generation to another, and the utter inability of the perplexed and weak emperor to offer any aid to the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, which, after the suppression of the heresy, he was compelled to leave under papal and French influence, may justly be deplored.

The Beguines in Liege owed their origin to peculiar circumstances. The license of the ecclesiastics in this town reached such a pitch that during Easter and Whitsuntide the most beautiful of the priests' mistresses were placed publicly as queens upon thrones and were paid homage, the night concluding in debauchery and riot. The obscenity of the priests produced a popular reaction.² The burgher Lambert founded a society of chaste maidens and virtuous widows, who were bound by certain rules, and who before long gained great credit by their care of the sick³ (1176).

A general council was convoked by Innocent, in 1215, at Rome, for the purpose of reforming the most grievous abuses in the church, and severe penalties were adjudged as a check upon the immorality and the avarice of the clergy, which had now overstepped every restraint, and ever remained the deplorable and inseparable result of the immense wealth they had gained; although there were not wanting men among their order who viewed the profligacy of their

¹ The German fanatics were led by Leopold the Younger of Austria, Count Adolf von Berg, and the Cardinal, Conrad von Urach. At the storming of Bezières, sixty thousand of the Albigenses of every age and of both sexes were murdered. Adolf was touched to compassion and saved a mother and her infant by covering them with his shield. He afterward visited Palestine and expired before Damietta.

² This has ever been the case in Germany. Whenever the court, the nobility or the clergy, the literati or the poets, gave way to immorality and license, a popular reaction was inevitably the result.

³ Lambert was surnamed "le begues," quia balbus erat. Vide Ægidius in Chapeauville script. Leod. 2, 126. Hence the name of Beguine. The lewd conduct of the priests in Liege was put a stop to by Bishop Kuik in 1199.

brethren with horror and regret. Two may be particularly mentioned as important reformers of the monastic orders. Francisco d'Assisi, an Italian, founded, in 1210, the order of the Franciscans, who were also denominated Minorites, or lesser brothers; and Domingo Guzman, a Spaniard, in 1215, that of the Dominicans. These monks vowed to practice the most rigid austerity, to remain in utter poverty, never to possess or even to touch gold, and to content themselves with the mere necessities of life, the most homely diet and clothing. They were for this reason named the begging monks; and the Dominicans, whose object it also was to move the people to penitence by their sermons, were named the preaching monks. The second general of the Dominicans was a Saxon, Jordan von Battberg. He was shipwrecked off Cyprus, in 1237, when on his way to the East. He used to say when defending celibacy, "Earth is good and water is good, but when they are mingled they turn into mud." These pious enthusiasts were by no means impostors, and the character of Francisco d'Assisi, remarkable for its simplicity, piety, and sincere fervor, has merely been misunderstood owing to the manner with which it was abused by the hierarchy for purposes of which he was ignorant, and at which his pure and innocent mind would have revolted. The reformation of the church and its restoration to apostolical simplicity was, like that of the heretics, the object of these monks, whose excessive zeal, however, was merely made use of by the artful pope to effectuate a pretended reformation, in order to obviate the true reformation projected by the heretics. These begging monks, flattered, canonized, universally recommended, and endowed with unlimited authority by the pope, were speedily converted into mere blind political tools. Their character as the peculiarly holy and zealous servants of God gave them the precedence of all other sacred orders; they had the right of entering every diocese, of preaching everywhere, of reading mass, of hearing confession, of granting absolution, of founding schools; the gates and doors of the laity (for were they not enveloped

in the odor of sanctity ?) flew open at their approach; they became their bosom friends, their counselors, and their spies; they incited them against the enemies of the pope, inflamed their fanaticism, and strengthened their blind belief in the pontiff's power; and, in a word, they might fairly be regarded as a body of spiritual mercenaries or church police. The repose so long enjoyed by the church, during which the papal power was confirmed, and the long persecution of the heretics, were entirely effected by them. The Inquisition, or judgment of the heretics, was exclusively consigned to the Dominicans by a synod held at Toulouse, and the flames of persecution spread instantly throughout Europe. The Christian priest emulated the cruelty of his pagan predecessor, and human blood was poured in horrid libation on the altar of the God of peace. The Franciscans, blinded by their honest zeal, long remained unconscious of the political purpose for which their simple piety was abused, but no sooner perceived the truth than, abandoning their former master, they afforded their utmost aid to the emperor and to the heretics in their contest with the church.

CLVI. *Frederick the Second*

FREDERICK, surrounded at Palermo, where he held his pleasure-loving court, with all the delights of lovely Sicily and with oriental refinement, early acquired the classic lore of the ancients, their sense of beauty, and the sciences of the East. In his fifteenth year (1209) he was united by the pope to Constantia,¹ the daughter of Peter, king of Aragon, who ere long presented him with a son, Henry. Frederick was remarkable for the symmetry of his person. The expression of his countenance was replete with nobility, intelligence, and benevolence. In 1212 the youthful monarch was visited by a German knight, Anselm von Justingen, who

¹ The plague broke out on the wedding-day, and carried off Alfonso, the bride's brother, and several of the guests. The bridegroom was compelled to flee.

invited him in the name of all the German partisans of the house of Hohenstaufen to place the crown of Charlemagne on his brow. Fired with the spirit of his ancestors, he joyfully acceded, and accompanied Anselm to Germany. The pope, actuated by dread of Otto's revenge, favored his plans, but nevertheless compelled him to swear that his infant son, Henry, should possess Sicily alone, and that the crown of Lower Italy should remain separate from that of Germany. The Milanese, foreseeing Frederick's future power, refused him permission to pass through their territory, but the loyal citizens of Pavia, bravely arming in his cause, opened a road for him after a desperate and bloody conflict, and, at the pope's bidding, he was assisted across the Alps by Azzo, the Margrave d'Este. On his way he received information of the march of his competitor, Otto, toward Constance, for the purpose of capturing him at the outlet of the Alps, but, undeterred by the danger, he fearlessly crossed the mountains of the Grisons, and, disguised as a pilgrim, with merely sixty men in his train, entered Constance amid the joyous shouts of the ancient friends of his house, the loyal Swabians. The citizens of Constance, warned of his approach, had closed the gates against Otto, while the counts of Kyburg and Habsburg had come at the head of their vassals to receive their youthful monarch. Otto retreated down the Rhine; the citizens of Breisach expelled him from their city; and he was driven from place to place, while the grandchild of the great Barbarossa was everywhere received with a delight, to which his wisdom, extraordinary for his years, and the nobility of his address, contributed as much as his personal beauty. Before quitting the mountains, he concluded a treaty with France, at that time at war with England, Otto's ally. For this treaty Frederick received a large sum of money, which he instantly distributed among his adherents. Almost the whole of Germany did homage to him in 1213, when he held his first diet at Frankfort. The Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, who, although apparently absorbed with the Minnesingers on the Wartburg, incessantly

watched over his political interests, had at one time adhered to Philip, at another to Otto, from both of whom he had obtained a considerable addition to his power, for instance, the cities of Muhlhausen and Nordhausen. Notwithstanding his late friendship with Otto, he now took the field against him, and defeated him at Tannstätt. The emperor Frederick visited Thuringia, held a diet at Merseburg, where he gave a legal sanction to the Saxon *spiegel*, or Saxon code of laws.

Otto IV. still hoped to be able to save his honor, if not to maintain his authority in the North. Flanders, on the death of Count Philip (1191) in the East, had fallen to his brother-in-law, Baldwin von Hennegau; Philip Augustus of France, nevertheless, continued to partition and to weaken the country, in order to annex it piece-meal to France, on which it was merely dependent as a fief of the crown, which, with its German population, its civism, its wealth, its national power and national hatred, it was far more likely to endanger than to serve. Baldwin ceded Artois to Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, but his son Baldwin, the subsequent emperor of Constantinople, repossessed himself of a great portion of it, besides taking the earldom of Namur from Limburg and Luxemburg. After his death in Greece, his daughters were delivered (1205) to the French monarch by his brother, Philip the Weak, who had assumed the title of Earl of Namur. The eldest daughter, Johanna of Constantinople, was bestowed in marriage by the French king on Ferrand, the powerless count of Portugal, on condition of the cession of a portion of Flanders. The Flemings had, however, taken the precaution of electing Burkhard d'Avesnes, a man of well-known prudence, regent during Johanna's minority. As soon as she had attained her majority, Ferrand escaped from Paris, where he was kept under surveillance, and threw himself into the arms of the Flemings in 1211. John, king of England, now interfered, demanded aid from Otto, and formed a Northern League against France. The allies suffered a complete defeat at Bouvines in the first

engagement that took place (1214). The emperor, Otto,¹ was wounded. Ferrand was taken prisoner, and exposed in an iron cage to public derision in the streets of Paris. Flanders was placed in the hands of Johanna, but in complete dependence upon France. The pope, who regarded this league between the powers of the North as a German reaction against French and Italian Romanism, in his wrath anathematized and deposed the English monarch, and bestowed the whole of his dominions upon Philip Augustus. John, threatened at the same time by his own subjects, was driven in this extremity to grant to them the famous Magna Charta, which at once secured the liberties and laid the foundation to the future glory of England.

Otto retreated to Brunswick, where he continued to defend himself against Frederick's adherents, more particularly against Albrecht, archbishop of Magdeburg, his most inveterate foe, who, falling into his hands in 1215, he remained in tranquillity until his death, which took place in the Harzburg in 1218. The imperial regalia were delivered by his son Henry to Frederick, to whom France also courteously restored the banner of the empire,² which had been taken at Bouvines.

In 1215, Frederick II. was solemnly crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. He then proceeded to restore order to the empire. A Ghibelline by birth, he was in the contradictory and unnatural position of a favorite of the pope and an ally of France, and he was even reduced to the necessity of flattering Denmark in order, by her aid, to weaken the influence possessed by the Welfs in Northern Germany. For this purpose, he confirmed Waldemar in the sovereignty of Holstein, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania.

¹ Long before Otto mounted the throne, Philip Augustus once said to him in jest that he would bestow Paris on him if he ever became emperor. Otto, on this occasion, demanded the cession of his capital in earnest. Henry of Brabant, who shortly before had plundered Liege, and had been defeated by the Flemish at Steppes, was one of the confederates in this league.

² The imperial eagle on a high chariot of state (*carroccio*), *aquilam super currum sublimen compositam*.—*Meyerus Annal.* Flandr., 1214.

In 1218, the last Berthold von Zähringen died without issue. Burgundy, ever restless, had fully engaged his attention. His attempt to reduce Warin, bishop of Sion, and the free peasantry of Wallis (Valais), to submission terminated in his defeat. He was driven down the Grimsel in 1211. He was, nevertheless, victorious over the rebellious nobles at Willisburg (ancient Aventicum), and again in the Grindelwaldthal. The nobles revenged themselves by poisoning his sons Berthold and Conrad, to whom, according to Pschudi (later historians doubt the fact), the fatal draught was administered by their stepmother, a Countess von Kyburg. The city of Berne, famed for its hatred of the nobility, was founded in revenge by the sorrowing father, amid the forest depths. The city was named Berne from a bear which was slain during its erection, Berthold saying, "As the bear rules the denizens of the wild, so shall Berne rule the castles of the nobles"; and he raised the ancient towns of Zurich, Freiburg, and Solothurn to such prosperity, by the grant of immense privileges, that the citizens were afterward enabled to curb the lawless nobles. In his will he bequeathed Zurich to the emperor; the free cities of Berne, Freiburg in Uechtland, and Solothurn, to the empire; his possessions in Burgundy to his sister Anna, Countess von Kyburg; those in Swabia, together with Freiburg in the Breisgau, to his sister Agnes, Countess von Urach. Peter, earl of Savoy, however, seized the Waadtland and leagued with the cities against the Kyburgs. Baden, at that period a place of little importance, fell to Hermann, one of Berthold's cousins, who took the title of Margrave of Baden, on account of his having for a short time governed the mark or frontier district of Verona. By him the Zähringen name was continued. He remained true to his allegiance to Frederick. His eldest son, Rudolf, inherited Baden, and afterward went over to the Welfic faction. His second son, Hermann, wedded a princess of Babenburg; their son, Frederick, fell, when a youth, at the side of the last of the Hohenstaufen. In Lothringia, the duke, Frederick, had remained true

to the Staufen; his son, Theobald, was, on the contrary, wild and lawless; he caused his uncle, Mathias, bishop of Toul, to be assassinated, and was himself surprised and slain by the emperor near Rothheim.

The support given to the emperor in Germany induced an attempt on his part to escape from his unnatural and harassing position, by openly professing himself the Ghibelline he was by birth. Innocent III., the protector of his youth, by whom he had been called to the throne, and who was almost omnipotent in the fullness of his hierarchial power, he had never ventured to oppose, in the consciousness of his inability to maintain his quickly-gained empire against this giant of the church, and of the impossibility of retaining his friendship, should he, like his ancestors, assert his independence of Rome. Innocent's death, in 1216, created but little change in the aspect of affairs, his ambitious pretensions being inherited by his successor, Honorius III.

The emperor, in imitation of Barbarossa, acted with great circumspection; his first care was to gain over the German bishops, whom he loaded with favors. Their support greatly facilitated his opposition to the pope, and by their assistance he succeeded in causing his son, Henry, who had already been recognized by the pope as king of Sicily and Apulia, to be elected king in Germany. This proceeding startled the pope, who had still cherished the hope of being able to keep the crowns of Germany and Sicily separate. The emperor now sought to mollify the pope by assurances of friendship, and even promised to raise a crusade, a sure means of conciliation, the papal authority having in some degree been shaken by the coolness with which his eternal summons to the crusades was now received. The ill success attending them had at length cooled the popular zeal.

Another crusade was raised under Honorius III., which shared the fate of its predecessors. Leopold the Glorious, of Austria, Andreas, king of Hungary, and a number of Saxons, who accompanied the crusade without a noble for their leader, sailed, in 1217, for the Holy Land (which had been

visited not long before by Casimir of Poland for the purpose of praying at the Holy Sepulcher), repulsed the Turks, and bathed in the Jordan. Tabor, on the mountain, repelled their attacks, and Andreas returned home with his Hungarians. Leopold remained, and in 1218 laid siege to Damietta in Egypt, with the idea of more easily securing the reconquest of Syria by the conquest of Egypt. He was here joined by a Friscian fleet, which had on its way deprived the Moors of Cadiz. A second Dutch fleet, under William of Holland, captured Alcahar do Sal. The Friscians and Dutch, fired with enthusiasm by the eloquence of Oliverius, a canon of Cologne, the chronicler of this expedition, joined Leopold, and greatly distinguished themselves in the siege of Damietta. The harbor was defended by a tower that stood upon an inaccessible rock in the deep sea. The Friscians and Flemings constructed a wooden tower of equal height, which was placed upon two vessels and carried alongside the fortress. Haye von Gröningen was the first who mounted the wall, where he laid about him so furiously with an iron flail that the garrison was speedily compelled to surrender. The arrival of the cardinal Pelagius, who usurped the chief command in the name of the pope, caused Leopold and the majority of the Germans to return home (1219). The counts of Holland and of Wied remained and assisted in the taking of the city. Henry, Count von Schwerin, and Dietrich von Katzenellenbogen, also arrived, after a sharp conflict at sea. On the arrival of Louis, duke of Bavaria, and Ulrich, bishop of Passau, with a multitude of Lombards under the archbishop of Milan, it was resolved to attack the sultan, Camel, in his metropolis, Cairo. Saint Francisco d'Assisi, who accompanied this fleet, ventured into the sultan's presence and attempted his conversion. Camel is said to have listened with patient good humor to his harangue. The crusaders, ignorant of the nature of the Nile, were surprised in the night by its sudden rising, and reduced to such extreme necessity by wet and famine that they were compelled to purchase their lives by the resoration of Damietta

to the sultan, in 1221. Shortly after these events, Henry, Count von Rapperschwyl, and his wife Anna, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on their return founded the wealthy monastery of Wettingen, in the Aargau.¹

The emperor's departure for the Holy Land was mean-

¹ The story of the Thuringian count, Ernest von Gleichen, belongs to this period. He had married a Countess von Orlamunde, whom he left at home; he was taken prisoner in the East, but was restored to liberty by the sultan's daughter, Melechsala, on condition of taking her to his native country as his wife. He fulfilled his promise; the countess received the Saracen lady as a sister, and the pope confirmed the double marriage. The "dreï Gleichen," or three equals, the count's castles, still stand in the neighborhood of Gotha, and at Erfurt may be seen the three tombs, that of the count in the center. Their remains were examined not very long ago, and the Asiatic formation of one of the female skulls seems to vouch for the authenticity of this oft-doubted tale.—The legend of the faithful Florentina von Metz is still more interesting. On the departure of her husband, Alexander, for the crusades, she presented him with a shirt that possessed the property of ever retaining its purity. The knight was taken prisoner and condemned to draw the plow. The sultan remarked the extraordinary quality of his shirt, and on being told that it would retain its purity as long as Florentina remained faithful to her husband, he resolved to make the experiment, and sent a cunning man to Metz, whose attempts to shake her fidelity entirely failed. Florentina, on learning the situation of her husband from this man, disguised herself as a pilgrim, and set out in search of him, won the sultan by her singing, and begged of him his slave, Alexander, from whom she merely demanded, in token of gratitude for his redemption, permission to cut a small piece out of his shirt. She then hastened back to Metz. On Alexander's return, he was informed of the long absence of his wife, and bitterly reproached her, upon which she produced the piece of linen, which proved her identity with the person by whom he had been freed.—A Swabian knight, von Mohringen, returned from the crusades on the day fixed by his wife (by whom he was believed to be dead) for her second wedding, with the Chevalier von Neuffen, who, being thus compelled to withdraw his pretensions, received the hand of the daughter instead of that of the mother.—One of the counts von Rapperschwyl was met, on his return home, by his steward, who, attempting to raise his suspicions of the fidelity of the countess, received for answer, "Say whatever you wish, but say nothing against my wife." The disconcerted steward, anxious to retain his lord's favor, spoke of the first thing that came into his head, of the advantage of erecting a castle on the tongue of land which contracts the Lake of Zurich, and Rapperschwyl was built in consequence.—St. Hildegunda of Cologne quitted the convent at Neuss, disguised in male attire, and traveled to the Holy Land under the name of Joseph. At Accon she was robbed by her servant. She dwelt for some time at Jerusalem, visited Rome, and then went to Schonau, near Heidelberg, where she lived as an Bisterzienser monk until 1188. Her sex remained undiscovered until after her death.—Count Poppo von Henneberg was followed home by a foreign lady, whose love he had gained during the crusade. She arrived during the celebration of his marriage with another, and in her despair tore off at once the whole of her beautiful braided hair, which was afterward placed as an ornament on the helm in the arms of Henneberg. These and many other similar stories of the times form the subject of the national ballads of Germany.

while constantly expected. In 1220 he visited Italy, leaving Engelbert, the noble-spirited archbishop of Cologne, regent of the empire. He received the imperial crown from the hands of the pontiff at Rome; the crusade, nevertheless, could not be raised, partly on account of the general want of enthusiasm and of funds, and partly on account of the emperor's deeming the regulation of the affairs of Lower Italy more conducive to utility. The pope, whose authority diminished with every addition to the imperial power, showed signs of impatience, and Frederick, in order to lull his apprehensions, bound himself by oath, in 1225, to undertake a crusade within two years from that time under pain of excommunication. The empress, meanwhile, expiring, he espoused Iolantha, the daughter of John, the ex-king of Jerusalem, in right of whom he claimed the Eastern kingdom. The preparations for the crusade were now commenced in earnest; immense bodies of troops poured across the Alps, and ranged themselves beneath his banner. A fearful pestilence, that suddenly broke out in the camp in 1227, carried off the flower of his army. Louis the Pious, Landgrave of Thuringia, was among the victims. The expedition now became impossible; the term of respite expired, and at this unfortunate conjuncture the life of Honorius III. reached its close. His successor, Gregory IX., a man of a far more exacting and despotic temper, instantly took advantage of the emperor's embarrassment to anathematize him for the non-fulfillment of his oath. The emperor, enraged at the harshness of this treatment, dropped the mask and openly expressed his hatred of the hierarchy: "The bloodsucker deceives with her honeyed words, she sends her ambassadors, wolves in sheep's clothing, into every land, not to sow the word of God, but to fetter liberty, to disturb peace, and to extort gold." The pope was driven by the Frangipani out of Rome, and compelled to fly for refuge to Viterbo.

The emperor would, in all probability, have openly defied the papal interdict, had not his word of honor been impli-

cated by the oath he had taken in 1225; and in order to redeem that honor in the eyes of the world, not from any regard for the pope, he resolved at all hazards to perform the crusade, and, in 1228, set sail for the East, with as numerous an army as he found it possible to raise. Enlightened and humane, a free-thinker, accustomed to oriental refinement, as a Hohenstaufen the hereditary foe of Rome, and with the pope's anathema still rankling in his mind, Frederick naturally sought an alliance with the equally free-spirited Mahometan chief. Camel was at that time carrying on a contest with his nephew Nasr David, similar to that between Frederick and the papists. Before Frederick's departure for the East, a private understanding had been arranged, by means of secret emissaries, between him and Camel. On his arrival in Palestine, he was avoided, as an excommunicant, by the Templars, the Hospitalers, Gerold, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and by all the foreign settlers. The pope even ventured in his wrath expressly to prohibit any assistance to the emperor, thereby attempting to frustrate the success of an expedition he had at first so zealously forwarded. Frederick, undisturbed by these maneuvers, treated the worthless Christian population with well-merited contempt, and only confided in the Germans, the gallant grand-master of the German Hospitalers, Hermann von Salza, the Genoese, and Pisanese, who had ever taken part with the German pilgrims against the degenerate Pullanes. Camel agreed to cede the city of Jerusalem and the adjacent territory to the emperor, upon condition of permission being granted to the Mahometans to make pilgrimages to a mosque within the city. These terms were gladly consented to by Frederick, who marched into the holy city at the head of his armed followers (not unarmed, like Richard Cœur de Lion), formally took possession of it, with his own hands placed the crown of Jerusalem on his brow, allowed the Mahometan inhabitants to withdraw in peace, and repopled the city with Christians in 1229. The patriarch of Jerusalem, however, instead of manifesting gratitude for the

reconquest of the Holy Sepulcher, laid the whole city under excommunication; priestly passion and intrigue sought to undermine the peace that once more spread its blessings around, and the Templars even plotted against the emperor's life. The sultan was apprised by them of the spot where he could conveniently capture his opponent. The letter was sent by the generous Mussulman to Frederick with a friendly caution. The understanding that existed between the emperor and the sultan naturally caused Frederick to be accused by his enemies of openly professing Mohammedanism, and imbittered the "true believers" against him. Inventive calumny distilled her poisons. He was charged with being accessory to the murder of the duke of Bavaria, who had fallen by the hand of a bold assassin, and of many other similar crimes. On the confirmation of peace, Frederick returned to Italy, leaving his master of the horse, Richard, at the head of affairs in the East. Richard at first kept the Pullanes at bay, but afterward fell into their hands and was expelled. The emperor, occupied with home affairs, neglected the East. The treaty of peace between him and the sultan was infringed by the Pullanes, and ruin, as might have been foreseen, speedily ensued.

During the emperor's absence, the pope had raised a body of mercenaries, who bore, as insignia, St. Peter's keys (whence they were denominated the key-soldiers), and had, moreover, attempted to deprive the Ghibellines of Lower Italy. At the same time, he denounced the treaty concluded by the emperor with the sultan as a league with the devil. The key-soldiers were led by Frederick's jealous stepfather, John of Jerusalem, who was also joined by the Milanese and Lombards. The governor Reinald, the son of Conrad of Spoleto, who had formerly been expelled by Innocent III., and the Frangipani with difficulty upheld the imperial cause. But no sooner did Frederick reappear, and his faithful Austrians, Tyrolese, Carinthians, and Salzburgers, under their temporal and spiritual leaders, descend the Alps to lend him aid, than the pontiff, filled with dismay, acceded

to the proposals of peace made by Hermann von Salza, the emperor's prudent emissary and friend, and released the emperor from the interdict (1230). The pope had failed in his attempt to raise disturbances in Germany. Ulrich, bishop of Basel, alone had carried on a feud with the Count von Pfirt, the imperial governor of Alsace, whom he defeated on the Hart.

Affairs now retook their former aspect. Gregory IX. beheld with pain the confirmation of the emperor's sovereignty in Lower Italy, and the establishment of his gay and heretical court in the beloved land of his youth. Smiling palaces were erected at Naples, Palermo, Messina, and several other places.¹ Frederick was ever surrounded by the noblest bards and the most beautiful women of the empire; it was to him that the Italians owed the elevation of their popular dialect to a written language, by his use of it in his love-sonnets.² By his mistresses, the greatest beauties of the West and East, he had several sons and daughters, celebrated for their wit and beauty. Moorish dancing-girls and Eastern science abounded in his court. The sultan Camel presented him with an astronomical tent, in which the motions of the celestial bodies were represented by means of curious mechanism. His astrologer, Michael Scotus, translated Aristotle's zoography; he also possessed a menagerie of rare animals, among others a giraffe, kept tame leopards (chetahs) for the chase, and studied ornithology, on which he wrote a treatise.³

Poetry and science were, however, far from fully occupying the mind of this great statesman, whose thoughts were

¹ Bari had been the Grecian metropolis of Lower Italy, Palermo that of the Norman empire. Frederick laid the first foundation to the subsequent grandeur of Naples. In 1224, he enriched that city with a university.

² One of his poems, another composed by his son, king Enzo, and several by his friends, are to be found in the *Discorsi intorno alla Sicilia di Rosario di Gregorio*. Palermo, 1821. It would have been more accordant with his title of emperor of Germany had he sung in German.

³ A popular legend relates that the chevalier Bruno von Flittert, in order to satisfy the emperor's curiosity, descended into the crater of Mount Etna, but never returned.—*Montanus*.

chiefly engaged with the internal regulation of his vast empire. The formation of a well-regulated temporal state was his prevailing idea, which he first sought to realize, by way of essay, in his little Italian kingdom, before carrying it out on a larger scale in the empire of Germany. The internal dissolution with which the empire was threatened by the ambitious aspirations of the church, the nobility, and the cities to independence, was foreseen by this emperor. The sole object of his attempt to create a ministry intended to replace the irregular diets, and to levy a tax instead of receiving the tardy and insufficient imperial contributions, was the restoration of the unity of the empire. In a word, he would willingly have overthrown both the hierarchy and the feudal system, and have created a state possessing a well-organized government, and a well-regulated financial system; but he was, unfortunately, too far in advance of his age, which neither would nor could keep pace with his ideas. His intended reforms were announced in a great diet held at Capua,¹ in 1231, by a code of laws composed by his intelligent chancellor Peter de Vineis for Lower Italy, where Frederick at first successfully carried his political views into execution; his innovations were, naturally enough, highly displeasing to Gregory IX., who, in 1234, published a collection of ecclesiastical laws, which he set up in opposition to the imperial code. These codes were grounded on entirely contrary principles; that of Frederick ascribing all earthly power to the supremacy of the emperor; that of Gregory to the pope, as the representative of God.

CLVII. *The Inquisition—The Humiliation of Denmark*

THE Salic and the Swabian emperors, the latter of whom had found it requisite to court the aid of Denmark against Saxony, had been unable to maintain their authority in the

¹ At the gates of Capua stood a fine statue of the emperor, which was wantonly deprived of its head by Murat's soldiers, during the French invasion. In the year 1835 it was still in this mutilated condition. A model of the head had fortunately been taken, a copy of which may be seen in Raumer.

north of Germany, whose frontier Frederick II., on account of his almost permanent residence in Italy, was even still less able to guard. The rising importance of Saxony, nevertheless, secured the frontier of the empire against Denmark, and extended it far to the east. The civil wars in Germany had, in fact, restricted Saxony to a system of defense against the Danes and Slavs, but peace was no sooner confirmed, and the emperor absent beyond the Alps, than she again projected the conquest of the North.

Frederick, far from planning the extension of the limits of the empire to the North, had merely applied himself to secure her internal tranquillity by his close union and good intelligence with her great ecclesiastical dignitaries. Engelbert, Count von Berg and archbishop of Cologne, who was intrusted by him with the regency of the empire, was the founder of the Feme, or secret tribunal, which was primarily connected in the duchy of Westphalia, which belonged to Cologne, with the ancient gau or provincial tribunal. Ecclesiastics were not allowed to become members of this tribunal, before which they also could not be cited, the affairs of the church being beyond its jurisdiction. To the licentious laity, especially to the wild and haughty barons, this tribunal was a fearful scourge; the criminal was cited to appear at midnight before his darkly masked judges; flight was vain; the condemned wretch was hanged on a tree by the mysterious avenger of his crime, and a knife struck into the trunk signified that he had fallen by the hand of a Feme. The stern justice exercised by Engelbert, when at the head of this secret tribunal, is said to have produced the most beneficial effects. He was assassinated by the Count von Isenburg, on whom he had justly inflicted punishment. The design of the cathedral of Cologne was drawn out during his reign (1226), and his death was immortalized by Walther von der Vogelweide, the most celebrated poet of the age.

Northern Saxony, notwithstanding the murder of the regent and the absence of the emperor, succeeded, at this period, in shaking off the Danish yoke. King Waldemar II.

of Denmark, besides the Wendian duchies of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, had taken possession of the German earldom of Holstein (whose sovereign, Adolf III., was a prisoner in his hands), the country of the Ditmarses, who had voluntarily placed themselves under his government owing to their dislike of the archbishop of Bremen, the countships of Ratzeburg and Schwerin, and the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg. These conquests were viewed with great apprehension by the Saxon princes, one of whom, Bernard von Sachsen-Lauenburg, wittily remarked to Henry of Brunswick, the son of the emperor Otto, that "he ought to turn his grandfather's marble lion, which always looked toward the east, toward the north." In 1219, Waldemar also conquered Esthland, where the Danebrog banner, bearing a white cross on a red field, which afterward became the flag of Denmark, is said to have fallen from heaven during an engagement that took place near Lindanissa, not far from Reval. Waldemar possessed one thousand four hundred ships and one hundred and sixty thousand soldiers; his denial of his vassalage to Germany gained for him the zealous support of the pontiff, who declared Denmark exclusively St. Peter's fief. Waldemar, rendered insolent by success, deprived the Holsteiners of all their ancient privileges, and placed a governor over Segeburg, who, when the people appealed to their ancient laws, mockingly replied, "I will send you a dog that shall howl out your laws before you." The noble Frau von Deest roused the people to vengeance, and the governor was slain. In the commencement of Frederick's reign, the necessity of preserving peaceful relations with both France and Denmark, in order to weaken the faction of Otto IV., rendered him unable to assist the Holsteiners, who, consequently, remained beneath the Danish yoke. In 1223, Waldemar was surprised by night, in the island of Lyöe, and carried in fetters to the castle of Lenzen, in Brandenburg, by Henry, Count von-Schwerin, whose wife he had dishonored during his absence in the Holy Land. He was afterward imprisoned at Dannenberg. Adolf IV.—the son of

Adolf III., who had meanwhile expired—also returned, and was received with open arms by the Holsteiners. The Danes, in 1225, raised a large army under Albrecht von Orlamunde, who governed the kingdom in the place of their imprisoned monarch; they were defeated, and Albrecht was taken prisoner. Waldemar was now reduced by necessity to restore all the countries which he had seized on the German coast, to hold his crown in fee of the empire, and to pay a heavy ransom. His liberty was no sooner regained than he planned a bloody revenge, in which he was assisted by Otto (the Child) of Brunswick. The Ditmarses also flocked beneath his banner. He was opposed by Adolf, earl of Holstein, Henry von Schwerin, Gerhard, bishop of Bremen, and the citizens of Lubeck, who, headed by their gallant burgo-master, Alexander Soltwedel, had overpowered the Danish garrison placed in their city. A decisive battle was fought at Bornhövede on the day of St. Maria Magdalena. The rays of the sun poured upon the faces of the Holsteiners and completely dazzled them. Adolf, in this extremity, fell upon his knees, and vowed to devote his future life to God, if victory were granted; at that moment St. Magdalena appeared in the heavens and cast her veil before the sun (a cloud). In the heat of the engagement, the Ditmarses went over to the Holsteiners, and attacked the Danes in the rear. Waldemar lost one of his eyes. The Germans gained a brilliant victory. Adolf, true to his vow, became a monk, held his first mass on the field of battle, made a pilgrimage on foot to Rome, and built the church of St. Maria at Kiel with the alms he had himself collected. His sons, Gerhard and John, retained the sovereignty in Holstein. Lubeck (to which the bishopric of Oldenburg was transferred) and Hamburg became free towns, and were raised by their commerce to great importance.

Brandenburg also began to gain strength, and to press upon Pomerania and Poland. Barnim, the Pomeranian prince at Stettin, was compelled to take the oath of fealty to Brandenburg, as well as to the empire, and to cede the

Uckermark. The Margrave, Albrecht II., deprived Poland of the bishopric of Lebus (founded 1135), and defeated the king, Wladislaw, who had armed in its defense. Henry the Bearded, of Silesia, and Albrecht, archbishop of Magdeburg, Brandenburg's ancient neighboring foe, also laid claim to this bishopric; and Otto the Child, of Brunswick, who had been taken prisoner in the Danish war, was no sooner restored to liberty than his vassals were incited to rebellion by this archbishop, the ancient foe of the Welfs, and, in fact, of all the temporal lords, at whose expense he sought to raise himself by means of the emperor. In 1229, Brandenburg embraced Otto's cause. The sons of Albrecht II., who had divided their inheritance, John, the founder of the Stendal branch, and Otto, of that of Salzwedel, were nevertheless put to flight at Klettenbach, and Otto of Brunswick was, in 1238, taken prisoner by Willebrand, Albrecht's successor, in a battle at Alvensleben. Still, notwithstanding the union of the Margrave, Henry von Meissen, with the archbishop, the Meissners were defeated by the Brandenburg brothers at Mittenwald in 1240, and the archbishop met with a similar fate at Gladigau, where his active partisan, Ludolf, bishop of Halberstadt, was also taken prisoner in 1243. This success was followed by another victory at Plauen, where numbers of the combatants were drowned in the Havel by the breaking of a bridge (1244). An alliance was, notwithstanding, formed not long afterward between Brandenburg and Magdeburg, for the purpose of depriving Poland of their common object of dissension, the bishopric of Lebus, which they partitioned between themselves in 1250. The Neumark was also gradually ceded by Poland to Brandenburg. The Germans penetrated into every part of the newly-acquired territory, and founded cities among the Slavs in Pomerania and on the frontiers. Neubrandenburg and Greifswalde were erected in 1248, Landsberg in 1257.

Silesia was also, at this period, much more Germanized. Boleslaw the Long, duke of Breslau and Liegnitz, had been

succeeded by his son, Henry the Bearded, whose consort, St. Hedwig, the daughter of the renowned crusader, Berthold von Meran, invited German settlers into the country, and erected a number of cities and monasteries; the laws, customs, and language of Germany prevailed in all these cities; Henry, who was deeply engaged with the affairs of Poland, having placed those of Silesia chiefly under the control of his pious duchess in 1238.

The tenacity with which the German bishops, ever mindful of the power to which they had been raised by the policy of Barbarossa, asserted and sought to extend their authority, gave rise to the ecclesiastical feuds that at that period disgraced the church. Ludolf, bishop of Munster, carried on a feud with Guelders; Otto, bishop of Utrecht, was defeated in 1225, by the Frisians of Drent (on whom he had imposed a cruel governor), and becoming entangled in a morass while attempting to escape from the field of battle, was scalped by one of his pursuers. In Franconia the bishops of Wurzburg and Bamberg were at feud with each other; the latter was defeated at Meiningen in 1228.

The authority of the pope in Germany was at this period greatly increased by the renommée of a celebrated saint. One day during the year 1207, as Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia, sat among his Minnesingers in his castle of the Wartburg, the renowned poet and magician, Klingsor von Ungerland, announced to him that on that self-same night Gertrude von Meran, the sister of St. Hedwig and consort to Andreas, king of Hungary, would give birth to a daughter, the destined bride of his son, Louis. This daughter, whose name was Elisabeth, was instantly demanded in marriage for his son by the Landgrave, and she was carried in a silver cradle to the Wartburg, where she was brought up with her bridegroom, and in due course of time became his wife. During her youth she was reared in such excessive piety by her confessor, Conrad von Marburg, a Dominican monk, that she bestowed all her wealth on the poor, who, consequently, beset her steps. On being blamed for her conduct, she pursued

the same plan in secret. As she bestowed her alms without distinction, she was, when herself overtaken by misfortune, thrown tauntingly into the mud by a beggar woman whom she had repeatedly benefited. She practiced the strictest abstinence, rose at midnight to pray, washed and tended those afflicted with the most disgusting maladies, etc. Louis, who, besides succeeding his father as Landgrave of Thuringia, was the guardian of Henry von Meissen, then in his minority, made a successful inroad into Poland, in order to punish a robbery committed on some German merchants, and restrained the Meissner nobility. He died on his way to Palestine, leaving a son, named Hermann, still in his infancy. His brothers, Conrad and Henry, undertook the administration of affairs. The former checked the insolent archbishop of Mayence, who incessantly attempted to seize the government of Thuringia. Touched to the quick by the taunts of the women of Fritzlar as they watched him from their walls, he burned their town (belonging to the see of Mayence) and all its inhabitants. In expiation of this crime he took the cross, and enrolled himself in the order of German Hospitalers, of which he afterward became grand-master. Henry, surnamed Raspe, the other brother, a man of an evil disposition, now made himself master of Thuringia, and Elisabeth and her child were reduced to beg for bread at Eisenach. This roused the indignation of the vassals, and Rudolf Schenk von Vargula, boldly forcing his way into the presence of the Raspe, compelled him to treat his brother's widow with all due honor. This coercion was revenged on young Hermann, who was poisoned by his uncle. Elisabeth selected Marburg for her residence, and the fame of her sanctity spread far and wide. A strong light casts dark shadows. She was daily subjected to the scourge by her confessor, Conrad, who enforced the observance of devotional acts which often overstepped the bounds of decency and greatly scandalized the people, to whom she displayed the wounds inflicted by the scourge, exclaiming, "Behold the caresses of my confessor." The monk, secretly supported by the pope, at length usurped

the office of heretical judge, and commenced his inquisition among women, peasants, and beggars. The success he met with rendered him more daring, and he ventured to cite the citizens and even the petty nobility before his tribunal, and to impose upon them the most disgraceful acts of penance; but he no sooner assailed the high nobility, by summoning the Counts von Solms, Henneburg, and others before him, and by condemning the Count von Sayn to have his head shorn, which at that time was the greatest mark of disgrace, than their pride rebelled even against the sacred authority of the pope. The count went to the diet at Mayence, proved his innocence of the charges brought against him, and demanded reparation for his insulted honor. Even one of the archbishops, that of Treves, spoke for him. The youthful king, Henry, granted him the reparation he desired, and the monk was given up to popular vengeance. He had condemned eighty men to be burned alive; Elisabeth was dead, and her reputed sanctity was powerless in his defense. He was slain along with twelve of his apparitors by a Chevalier von Dornbach. Two of his underlings, who were noted for cruelty, Johannes and Conrad, fled; Johannes to Freiburg in the Breisgau, where he was taken; Conrad (von Tors) was killed by a Chevalier von Muhlbach. The Dominicans were humbled, and the Inquisition made no further progress in Germany.¹

The fanaticism with which the Romish priesthood had inflamed men's minds was, however, still powerful enough to raise a crusade against a harmless but free-spirited German race. The Stedingers, East Frisicians in the province of Stade, had, in 1187, destroyed the castles of the Count von Oldenburg,² who carried off their wives and daughters

¹ Ex hinc procellosa illa persecutio cessavit et fuit comes ille Seynensis murus, ne in ulteriora progredereetur rubies. — *Gesta Trevis.* 14.

² The origin of the house of Oldenburg is connected with the celebrated golden drinking-horn, the family heirloom. Otto I., Count von Oldenburg, one day lost his way when following the chase. He was met by a beautiful maiden, who presented him with the golden horn, saying, "If you drink out of this, you and your race will prosper; if you refuse, dissension shall reign in your family."

and secluded them within the walls of his fastnesses. This occurrence had embittered the nobility against them. In 1204, a priest—who, instead of the wafer, had put a groschen, which had been paid him for confession by a woman, and with which he was dissatisfied, into her mouth—having been put to death by them for sacrilege, they were excommunicated by the archbishop of Bremen, who carried on a feud with them, though not very vigorously, for twenty years. This worn-out quarrel, nevertheless, afforded Conrad von Marburg an opportunity for the indulgence of his blood-thirsty inclinations, and shortly before his death he incited the pope to persecute them as heretics, and succeeded in raising a crusade expressly against them. In 1233, numbers of the unfortunate Stedingers were slain; every prisoner was burned alive. The archbishop made an unsuccessful attempt to drown them all by cutting the dikes. In the following year they were invaded by the duke of Brabant, the counts of Oldenburg, Cleve, and Holland, at the head of forty thousand crusaders, against whom they made a noble and spirited defense under their leaders Bolke von Bardenfleth, Thammo von Huntorp, and Detmar von Dieke. Henry, Count von Oldenburg, was slain. They were at length overpowered, and fell, to the number of six thousand, in the battle of Altenesch, in 1234. They were completely unaided by their Friscian fellow countrymen. Some villages around Halle in Swabia were destroyed at the same time in a similar manner.

Henry, who had already been crowned king and named regent of the empire, was ill-calculated to sustain that dignity. The example of Frederick the Warlike of Austria, the brother of his consort Margaretha, may have had some influence over him. The slave of violent and lawless passion, he soon rendered himself an object of contempt; in 1228 he was driven from the field, not far from Breisach, by Berthold,

The count took the horn, but perceiving that some drops that he spilled had changed the color of his horse's mane, he set spurs to his horse instead of drinking, and galloped off with his prize. This is said to have happened in the year 990.

bishop of Strasburg, whom he had foolishly attacked. He was also charged with having removed by assassination Louis, duke of Bavaria, his father's friend, whose superintendence he justly feared. It was probably with a view of conciliating the great vassals of the empire, if not also with that of gaining their support against his father, that, in 1231, at a diet held at Worms, he published an imperial edict which rendered the great vassals and the bishops to a greater degree independent of the crown, and increased their power over the people and over the free towns indicated by it. This edict deprived the emperor of the right of exercising his imperial prerogatives, or of coining money, etc., within their territories; and the cities or towns, of the free election of their councilors without the consent of the bishop to whose diocese they belonged. It placed the ancient county or hundred courts of justice under the jurisdiction of the princes as their natural lieges, instead of that of the representative of the crown, and declared that no one could in future withdraw himself from the jurisdiction of these tribunals, that is to say, no malcontent should venture to free himself from the yoke imposed by the lord of the country, by placing himself as a *Pfahlbürger*¹ under the protection of the cities. This notorious law, which was drawn up in a completely aristocratic spirit, aimed at the annihilation of the last remains of popular liberty, and of the popular administration of justice, and at crushing the budding privileges of the cities; it was at the same time so completely antipathetic to the sovereign prerogative of the emperor that its contents and their ratification can only be ascribed to Henry's peculiar circumstances. His object was to make use of the German aristocracy in opposition to his father, whom it was his intention to confine within the limits of Italy, while he seized the sovereignty of Germany. Frederick II., however, fearing to lose the support of the princes in this critical moment, sent his assent to the new law from Italy, a step probably

¹ A peasant enfranchised by enrollment among the citizens, by means of which he claimed the protection of the city.

unforeseen by Henry, who, dreading his father's reappearance in Germany, and his own consequent deposition, entered into a secret league with his most inveterate Italian foes, the pope and the Lombards, the latter of whom he trusted would retain him in Italy. He then publicly announced his usurpation of the crown to the assembled princes at Boppart. He had, however, falsely calculated on their support, and on the ability of his Italian allies. Frederick, instead of remaining in Italy, hastened into Germany, where his compliance had confirmed the princes, both lay and ecclesiastical (with the exception of Frederick the Warlike), in their allegiance; his prolonged absence, moreover, rendered him less formidable to them as a sovereign than young Henry, who was ever present in Germany, and of an extremely arbitrary disposition. Henry was compelled to sue for pardon, which was granted him, at Ratisbon: the undeserved lenity with which he was treated proved ineffectual to reclaim him, and his subsequent attempt to remove his father by poison was punished by perpetual imprisonment at Martorano in Apulia, where he died in 1240. The death of his sons at an early age was, by the papists, falsely ascribed to poison, administered by their grandfather. In order to appease the manes of Louis of Bavaria, the emperor entered into a close alliance with his son, Otto, whose daughter, Elisabeth, then a maiden of sixteen, he affianced to his son, Conrad. He also sought for a consort for himself, on the death of his second wife, Iolantha, and, in order to ally himself with the Welfs, demanded the hand of Isabella, the sister of Henry III. of England. Beauty being, in Frederick's eyes, woman's highest attribute, he first committed to his friend and chancellor, Peter de Vineis, the task of judging for him whether her charms deserved their fame, and dispatched him for that purpose to England; on Peter's declaring her beauty unrivaled, the enchanted emperor sent to her the most magnificent jewels that had ever been beheld since the treasures of the East had been opened, by means of the crusades, to the wondering gaze of Europeans. The princess made her

triumphal entry into Cologne, whither he went to receive her, on the 22d of May, 1235. The citizens, decked in their best attire, and bearing flowers in their hands, went in crowds to meet her; ten thousand burghers on horseback, with a band of music in advance. The most extraordinary diversions were prepared; the clergy rode in carriages made in the form of ships, etc. The imperial pair, nevertheless, remained but a short time in Cologne, but mounted the Rhine and solemnized their nuptials at Worms. Seventy-five princes and twelve thousand knights were among the guests. The imperial court was completely oriental in character, and the historians of the time speak with astonishment of the camels which attended its movements.

The emperor, immediately after this, opened a great diet at Mayence. He was much beloved by the Germans, who had, notwithstanding his continued absence, ever recognized him as their liege, and frustrated the treasonable plots of his enemies; he, nevertheless, deceived himself in believing that Germany could be placed, like Apulia, under an organized government. His first step was the proclamation of peace throughout the empire, and the enforcement of severe penalties against all those who persisted in carrying on feuds. He also appointed an imperial court of justice, which took cognizance of all disputes between the princes and the subordinate classes. A check was attempted to be placed upon the encroachments of the members of the empire upon the imperial prerogative. The forcible seizure of royal dues, the levying of fresh taxes, etc., were prohibited. The barons were no longer permitted to molest and rob the citizens, and the citizens were in their turn forbidden to deprive the provincial nobility of their serfs by the admission of new Pfahlbürger. The nobility were no longer to build castles at the expense of the poor peasantry. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction was, according to ancient custom, to be placed under the control of the imperial archbishop, as a check upon the influence of the emissaries of Rome. All power was for the future to be exercised in the name of the empire alone. The union of the

empire was to be effectuated under the emperor. Moreover, in order to prove to the Germans that his residence in Italy had not rendered him a stranger, he caused this decree to be drawn up in German (all the former imperial edicts were drawn up in Latin). He also chartered several cities, for instance, Berne, Nuremberg, Worms, Ratisbon, etc., and greatly promoted the influence of the Feme or secret tribunal.¹—He declared his hereditary possessions in Germany crown property, and made all his personal vassals, vassals of the empire, which gave rise to the immediate nobility of the empire in Franconia and Swabia. Several of these ancient vassals of the house of Hohenstaufen subsequently acted with great ingratitude toward Frederick's sons, whose cause they abandoned for the sake of annihilating the remains of mediative power by the destruction of the Staufen.

In 1236 the emperor performed the last act of piety to St. Elisabeth, by attending her burial, after which he returned to Italy never again to visit Germany. His departure was hailed with delight by the German princes, who ill supported his authority. During his stay in Germany he was obeyed and even beloved by them, still it is probable that their egotism was visible even under the mask of friendship. Walther von der Vogelweide, so fervid in his zeal for the union, prosperity, and glory of Germany, bitterly laments their hypocrisy, and designates them faithless servants watching for their lord's departure. One only of the princes at that time openly defied the emperor. Frederick the Warlike, the son of Leopold of Austria, was a man of notoriously lawless character. In his nineteenth year he vanquished the powerful Cuenringer, who, during his minority, had, in union with others among the nobility, seized the government. In

¹ An interesting story belongs to this period, that of the Baron Wolfgang von Cronenburg, who ravished a nun, Mechtilda von Kettler, and bade defiance to the laws within his castle walls. The avenging arm of the Feme struck him even there. On opening his castle gates, the nun was discovered in a state of pregnancy within the walls; she was, consequently, released from her monastic vow, and the possessions of her ravisher were bestowed upon her and her son.—*Knapp's History of Cleve.*

1233, he took the field against Bela, king of Hungary, who had occupied Styria and reduced the brave peasantry of that country beneath his yoke. He, moreover, assisted his brother-in-law, Henry, against his father, the emperor, and opposed Otto of Bavaria, the imperial partisan. Being overcome in this quarter, he recompensed himself with the province of Carniola, whose count, Engelbert, died childless in 1234. Notwithstanding his gallantry in the field, Frederick was dissolute and lawless at home. During a festival at Vienna, he carried off the beautiful Brunehilda von Pottendorf, which so roused the citizens that they advised him if he valued his life instantly to quit their city. He took the hint, but pursued the same riotous course in his country residences. His consort, Agnes, fled to the emperor for protection from his outrages. He married and successively repudiated three wives, whom he treated equally ill.¹

CLVIII. *German Rulers in Livonia and Prussia—
The Tartar Fight*

THE cities of Lower Germany, particularly Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg, had, since the crusades, rapidly increased in commerce, wealth, and importance. In 1158, Bremen ships touched on the coasts of Livonia, where they speedily opened a fresh channel for trade. The whole coast of the Baltic beyond Pomerania was inhabited by branches of the Slavian and Finnish races. The province of Pomerelia, still Slavian and belonging to Poland, extended as far as Pomerania (to Dantzig) and Michelau (to Thorn) from the left bank of the Vistula, on whose right bank the nation (probably an ancient

¹ He deprived his widowed mother of her jointure, and threatened, if she importuned him, to cut off the breasts that had nourished him. He rushed upon his sister Constantia and her young husband, Henry the Illustrious, of Meissen, in their wedding bed, with his drawn sword, and compelled them to give up the dowry.—*Peter de Vineis*. Henry the Illustrious aided the archbishop of Magdeburg in the ever-renewed feud with Brandenburg, and also made an incursion into Prussia, where he visited his brother Courad, the grand-master, and built Elbing.

Slavian race) of the Sambii or Prussians,¹ spread from Dantzic as far as Memel. Here began the Finnish races, the Schamaytæ (Samogitiæ); further on the great peninsula running into the Baltic, the Curen (Courland); at the bottom of the bay formed by this peninsula, the Liven (Livonia); eastward of them, the Letten; and opposite Courland on the other side of the Great Gulf, the Esthæ (Esthonia). One of the most powerful tribes of this nation dwelt on the large island of Œsel (Kure-Saar, the island of cranes), which joins Courland and Esthonia, and closes the broad gulf of Livonia. The Lithuanians, apparently an ancient Slavian race (the Finnish tribes having merely spread as far as the Niemen), dwelling to their rear in the deep forests of the Binnenland, were the most powerful of the nations inhabiting the coast. These nations were still heathen; they were naturally humane, poetical, and imaginative, until rendered wild by desperation, and degraded by slavery. They were surrounded by Slavian nations which had already been converted to Christianity; on the west the Poles, on the east the Russians, both of which were still separated by the Lithuanians. The Prussians were often at war with the Poles, the Esthonians with the Russians (at Pleskow and Nowogorod). The Danish and Swedish sea-kings had often landed on the Esthonian coasts at an earlier period; their dominion, however, appears to have been of but short duration. In 1161, the conquest of the opposite coast, Finland, by the Swedes, seems to have raised the jealousy of the Hanse towns, which attempted to gain a settlement in Livonia in order to secure the northern trade. The nations on the coasts were divided into small states, disunited among themselves, and little disposed to regard the German merchants as their future oppressors and rulers. Numbers of

¹ The name is Slavian. Po signifies "by" or "near to." The Poles called the nations that dwelt "near the Russians," Prussians.—The ancient provinces of Prussia were Culm (Thorn), Pomesania (Marienburg), Pogesania (Elbing, the Hockerland), Warmia or Ermeland (Braunsberg), Barterland (Angerburg), Sudauen on the Lake of Spirding, Schalauen on the Memel, Nadrauen on the Pregel, Natangen to the south of Königsberg, Samland.



FREDERICK THE GREAT AT THE COFFIN OF THE GREAT ELECTOR

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the Hanseatic ships visited the coasts of Livonia, where they were at first well received on account of the advantages produced by trade. St. Meinhard, who followed in the train of the merchants, and who was tolerated on their account, preached to the natives, and, in 1187, founded the bishopric of Yxkull (Ykeskola), from a very small beginning. His successor, Berthold, treated the peaceable inhabitants with violence, but when pursuing the fugitives on gaining a victory, was borne among them by his unruly horse, and killed (1198). The barons and crusaders, who had accompanied him on this expedition, then returned to Germany; and the Livonians, retaking possession of the coasts, expelled the Christian priests, but granted the merchants permission to remain; a clear proof of the great value they set upon the trade carried on with the Hanse towns, and of the facility with which their confidence was regained. Their subjection speedily followed.

On the death of Berthold, Albrecht von Apeldern, a canon of Bremen, was elected bishop of Yxkull, and dispatched with twenty-three ships to Livonia in 1199. Albrecht pursued a cunning policy, and inviting the Livonian chiefs to a banquet, deprived them of their liberty, which they only regained under certain conditions. One of them, named Caupo, who was persuaded to turn Christian, rendered him great services, and even visited Rome for the purpose of kissing the pope's feet. Albrecht founded the city of Riga, in which he was assisted by the Livonians, who were fully sensible of the advantage of a commercial settlement at the mouth of the Duna for the sale of their produce. The bishopric was translated to Riga; Yxkull was fortified and placed under the command of Conrad von Meiendorf. The Germans had now gained a firm footing in the country, and the progress of the colony was so rapid that Riga contained a large population before the termination of the following year. The influx of German colonists and soldiers increased to such a degree that, in 1203, Albrecht founded an order, entirely composed of knights, intended to guard and to extend the

limits of the colony, known as the chivalry of Christ, or the order of the Cross and Sword. In 1204, these knights gained a signal victory over the Lithuanians, who attempted to plunder Livonia and Esthonia. They were assisted by the Livonians and the Semgallians; twelve thousand of the Lithuanians strewed the field. Livonia was at this period almost entirely Christianized. Albrecht, finding it difficult to make himself understood without the aid of interpreters, had recourse to the drama, and caused biblical scenes and allegorical representations to be performed in the market-place at Riga, as a mode of giving the people an idea of Christianity. His policy of gaining the natives by kindness was greatly aided by their love of commerce, as well as by the dread they entertained of their wild Lithuanian neighbors. His projects were, however, nullified by the brutal conduct of the knights, who were viewed with deadly hatred by the natives. Henry the Lette, the oldest annalist of Livonia, a Christian Lette in the service of the bishop, relates that the Chevalier von Leuwarden plundered, ill-treated, and imprisoned the little Livonian king Veszeke, who was very peaceably inclined; the bishop restored him to liberty, but Veszeke so deeply resented the insult he had received that he set fire to his castle with his own hands and bade eternal adieu to his country. The Lithuanians again invaded Livonia, and were again worsted by the united Germans and Livonians at Ascherade. The Letts, dwelling to the east of Livonia, were also persuaded to embrace Christianity. The Lithuanians, however, incited the Curen and Esthonians, who beheld the encroachments of the Germans with jealousy, to rebel, and during Bishop Albrecht's absence in Germany, an insurrection, in which numbers of the Livonians and Letts took part, suddenly broke out. Every German who was unable to take shelter within the fortified cities was assassinated; Riga was besieged, and a solemn purification of their persons and also of their houses was determined upon, in order to wipe off the stain of Christianity. Albrecht's return at the head of a crowd of armed

crusaders, however, shortly restored matters to their former footing; a fearful revenge was taken, and the conquest was greatly extended. In 1217, Count Bernard von der Lippe became the first bishop of Sengallen. This Count Bernard had fought under Henry the Lion, and had been expelled his country. His remorse for the torrents of blood he had shed caused him to turn monk. It is a singular fact that he was consecrated by his own son, Otto, at that time bishop of Utrecht. Gerard, archbishop of Bremen, was another of his sons.

The conquest of Esthonia was now resolved upon by the knights of the Cross and Sword, and a battle took place, in which the Esthonians were defeated, and Caupo was killed; but their further advance was checked by the Russians of Pleskow, who, headed by their grandduke, Miceslaus, made a sudden inroad into Livonia, which they laid waste by fire and sword. The Russians were in their turn attacked by the Lithuanians, and before the contest could be decided, the knights, aided by Waldemar of Denmark, had seized the opportunity to conquer Esthonia, to which Waldemar laid claim. He founded the city and bishopric of Revel in that country in 1218. The Swedes, in order not to be behind-hand with their neighbors, also invaded Esthonia, but were defeated, and lost their bishop, Charles, who was burned to death in a house set on fire by the natives. The departure of Waldemar was a signal for general revolt; the Esthonians took several castles, murdered numbers of Danes and Germans, among others the governor, Hebbe, whose heart they tore from his palpitating bosom and devoured, "in order to keep up their courage." In the bitterness of their wrath, they even tore the corpses which had received Christian burial from their graves, and burned them with the usual pagan ceremonies. Still, notwithstanding the aid they received from the Russians, they were subsequently reduced to submission by the Danes and by the knights, who even took Dorpat, where they founded a bishopric, 1223.

The pope was no sooner informed of their success than

he claimed the whole of the conquered territory, and sent his legate, Guglielmo di Modena, as stadtholder to Riga in 1224. Modena was a man of energetic character; in the winter of 1227, he induced the Germans to cross the frozen ocean for the purpose of attacking the large island of Œsel, inhabited by pirates, and defended by two fortified towns, which were stormed and taken by the master of the order, Volquin von Winterstetten, who compelled the prisoners to undergo the rite of baptism by plunging them into ice-water. A second legate, Balduino d'Alva, succeeded in peaceably converting the Courlanders. A dispute subsequently arose between the clergy, who attempted to annex the whole of the conquered territory to the bishoprics and to treat it as church property, and the knights who had conquered the country for themselves. The chief power, however, rested with Volquin, who quickly turned it to the best advantage; he organized the government, bestowed privileges on the knights, citizens, and peasantry; he was, moreover (1228), confirmed in his government by the emperor, Frederick II., who regarded the conquered territory as an imperial fief held by the knights of the Cross and Sword, and rejected the claims of the pontiffs.

Shortly after this, the Lithuanians rose under their gallant leader, Prince Ringold, and attempted to cause a general insurrection among the heathen against the Germans, the Russians, and the Poles. A pitched battle was fought, in 1236, in which the pagans were victorious, Volquin fell, and the knights of the Cross and Sword were almost entirely cut to pieces.

Poland was at this period partitioned between several princes of the house of Piast, one of whom, Conrad von Masovien (the province of Warsaw), being unfortunate in battle with the Prussians and Lithuanians, called the German Hospitalers, instead of the knights of the Cross and Sword, whom he deemed too weak, to his aid. The monk Christian, a Pomeranian, the first who, since the death of St. Adalbert in Samland, had attempted to convert the Prus-

sians, and who had been nominated to the see of Culm, greatly contributed to this step. Hermann von Salza, the grand-master of the German Hospitalers, was the more inclined to accede to this request, on account of the inability of his order to make head in the East against the superior forces of the Mahometans and the envious opposition of the French, and on account of the necessary decline of his power unless a fresh field were opened for conquest. In 1230 he accordingly entered Poland, where he was granted the province of Culm, and was instructed to open a campaign against Prussia. The Prussians had a very peculiar form of government; they were ruled by a Criwe, or high priest, and possessed a constitution said to have been the result of the observations made by their ancient mythical popular hero, Waidevut, on the domestic economy of a beehive. Some gigantic and aged oaks at Welau, Thorn, Heiligenbeil, or holy ax (so called from the circumstance of a Christian wounding his own leg with the ax with which he was felling it), were held sacred, particularly one at Romowe in Samland.—Hermann von Salza sent Hermann Balk, as first Prussian governor, and a few of the knights, to the Vistula, where they erected the castle of Nessau, and thence spread themselves further up the country. Balk took possession of the sacred oak of Thorn, afterward the name of the city, which has been derived from Thor, a gate, the door of Prussia, or from Thurm, a tower, the knights having defended themselves in its wide-spreading branches, as in a tower, against the furious attack of the natives. In 1232, a petty crusade, in which the Burgrave Burkhard von Magdeburg distinguished himself, was raised. German colonists settled in the country; the privileges enjoyed by Magdeburg were conferred upon the cities of Thorn and Culm. The Prussians, nevertheless, still opposed the German invaders, whom they succeeded in repelling, and even took the bishop, Christian, prisoner. Guglielmo di Modena, the papal legate, however, drawing Suantepolk, duke of Pomerania, into their interest, he granted his aid to the Hospitalers, and being

shortly afterward joined by the Margrave Henry von Meissen, the whole of the left bank of the Vistula was conquered, and Christian was restored to liberty. In 1236, Balk was able, unaided, and scarcely without a blow, to take possession of Pomesania, the panic-stricken Prussians flying before him as he advanced.¹ It was here that the city of Elbing was founded.

In 1237, the order of the Cross and Sword in Livonia was incorporated with that of the German Hospitalers, and Balk visited Livonia, where he restored order and conciliated the Danes, who desired to annex Livonia to Esthonia, which they had already conquered. He even subdued Russian Pleskow by their aid. Hermann von Altenburg, the Prussian stadtholder, meanwhile cruelly persecuted the natives and destroyed a whole village, together with its inhabitants, with fire, on account of their having relapsed to their ancient idolatry. The exasperated Prussians rose en masse and gained a complete victory. Suantepolk also turned against the knights, whose vicinity he foresaw might prove prejudicial to his authority; and Salza and Balk died. The bishop, Christian, bitterly complained to the pope in 1238, of the misfortunes produced by the unchristian ferocity of the knights, who, instead of treating the conquered people with lenity and like free-born men, reduced them to the most abject slavery. The existence of this order of knighthood was, however, prolonged by the Landgrave, Conrad of Thuringia, who sought to wash his guilt away in the blood of the heathen (1239). The re-enforcements brought by Otto of Brunswick enabled him to beat the Prussians in every quarter from the field, and to subdue Warmia, Natangen, and the Barterland.

On the death of Conrad, Suantepolk renewed his attacks, and a general insurrection took place in Prussia. Every German in the country, with the exception of a few of the

¹ The Prussian ambassadors one day seeing the Hospitalers eating salad, gave Prussia up as lost, conceiving that a nation that fed upon grass must be invincible.

knights, who took shelter in three castles, Thorn, Culm, and Rheden, was assassinated. Culm was besieged by Suante-polk, who, making a false retreat, drew the Germans from the city into an ambushade, where they were all cut to pieces. He then attacked the city. The women and girls, however, closed the gates against him, and appearing upon the walls clothed in armor, he actually withdrew, believing the city to be still strongly garrisoned. David relates in his Chronicle, that the brave women of Culm being thus deprived of their husbands, Bishop Heidenreich preached to them the necessity of their marrying a second time during the same year, for the honor of God, in order to hinder the decrease of the Christian population of the country, and that they made choice of the young German crusaders. Henry von Hohenlohe, the new grand-master of the German Hospitalers, and more particularly the brave governor, Poppo d'Osterna, aided by an army of crusaders under the command of Frederick the Warlike of Austria, restored victory to the German arms. A general insurrection, notwithstanding, broke out again in 1243, and fifty-four captive knights were cruelly butchered. The heathen were again repulsed by a fresh army of crusaders under Otto of Brandenburg, in 1249. The Russians on the borders of Livonia also gained strength and reconquered Pleskow.

Disputes had already taken place between the knights and the bishops (who had been placed by the pope under the jurisdiction of Albert, archbishop of Riga), for the possession of the conquered territory. The knights built the town of Memel, and for the first time invaded Samland, where they suffered a severe defeat. An army of crusaders, greatly superior to the preceding ones in number, led by Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and by Otto of Brandenburg, coming to their relief, Samland was laid waste by fire and sword, Romowe the Holy was destroyed, Ottocar founded the town of Königsberg, and his companion, Bishop Bruno of Olmutz, that of Braunsberg, in 1255. The future prosperity of the order was secured by this well-timed success.

An unexpected and fearful storm that arose in the East, and threatened the new colonies in the North with destruction, passed harmlessly over close to their frontier. Dschingischan, a second Attila, had burst from the heart of Asia, at the head of the Tartars or Mongols, the descendants of the ancient Huns, and had conquered China and India. In 1240, his grandson, Batu, invaded Europe: the Russians and Poles gallantly but vainly opposed his advance; they were defeated in several severe engagements, and, in 1241, Batu invaded Silesia.

Henry the Pious, at that time, reigned at Breslau and Liegnitz, Miceslaw at Oppeln. Henry, the son of St. Hedwig,¹ had continued to Germanize the country, although engaged in a violent feud with the archbishop of Magdeburg, whom he had again deprived of the bishopric of Lebus. On a sudden the Tartars poured across the frontiers; Batu was quickly master of Upper Silesia; villages and cities were burned, the inhabitants butchered, sacrificed to idols, or reduced to slavery. These Tartars carried with them figures of dragons, which spit fire and vomited an intolerable smoke (probably cannons from China). Their march along the Oder was traced by flames. The country lay open before them; its defenders fled without attempting to check the course of the enemy, by bringing them to a pitched battle. The fugitive Poles, with their duke, Boleslaw, the people of Upper Silesia, with their cowardly duke, Miceslaw, men, women, and children, hurried through the Blachfeld, nor ceased their flight until they reached the most distant frontier of Slavonia, where the first German settlement was posted. Here Henry the Pious retained the panic-stricken fugitives, and St. Hedwig prepared her gallant son for a patriot's death. The German miners of Goldberg and a squadron of Hospitalers, who, headed by the governor,

¹ This saint wore the coarsest garments, practiced the strictest abstinence, slept on cold stones, and always went barefoot. When ordered by her spiritual advisers to wear shoes, she carried them in her hand. She devoted herself entirely to the poor and sick, and rejoiced when employed in the most disgusting offices, drank the water in which the monks washed their feet, etc.

Poppo, had hastened to his assistance from Prussia, gathered with the remaining Poles under his banner in the valley of Liegnitz. No aid was sent by the neighboring state of Bohemia. The whole force of the Tartars was meanwhile engaged in the siege of Breslau, which, although deserted in the general panic by a part of the citizens, was so bravely defended by the remainder as for some time to defy the attempts of the conquerors of the world. The citizens at length, finding further defense impossible, set fire to their city and took refuge on the island of the bishop's cathedral in the Oder, which they successfully defended, notwithstanding the simultaneous attack made by the Tartars on every side. A storm, the supposed sign of the wrath of Heaven, at length caused the foe to retire. Batu then took a southward direction toward Hungary, and dispatched a division of his army under his general, Peta, further westward. This division alone was five times as strong as the whole of the allied army of the Christians that had taken the field at Liegnitz. Not far from this city, on the Katzbach, five squadrons of the Mongols, each above thirty thousand strong, attacked the little Christian army, which scarcely numbered thirty thousand men. The battle was carried on with incredible fury for two days. Thirty-four persons belonging to the family of Rothkirch fell side by side. One only of the family of Haugwitz and Rechenberg returned from the field. The victory was still undecided, when the Poles, mistaking the cry "Zabijejcie!" (No quarter!) for "Zabiezcie!" (Fly!) fled panic-struck. Death on the battlefield was now the only alternative that presented itself to the gallant Germans. Henry was struck beneath the arm when in the act of raising it to deal a blow. His headless corpse was afterward recognized by his wife by the six toes on the feet. The Tartars filled nine sacks with the ears of the Christians. Notwithstanding the victory they had gained, the immense loss they suffered caused them to shun "the land of the iron-clad men," and, after vainly besieging Liegnitz and Goldberg, they turned southward. The German princes and bishops

had assembled at Merseburg, and had resolved upon a general summons to the field; in Saxony, men, women, old men, and children had already taken the sign of the cross, when the news of the retreat of the Tartars arrived. These barbarians, bearing the head of Henry the Pious and of those of some other knights in their van, crossed the mountains¹ to Moravia. Olmutz, bravely defended by Jaroslaw von Sternberg, offered a stout resistance; Peta lost his arm in a sally made by the besieged, and died of the wound. The air is said to have been darkened by showers of the enemies' arrows. At the present day pastry is annually made at Whitsuntide in the shape of hands and ears, at Sternberg in the Kuhländchen, in memory of the slaughter that took place. Hungary was next laid waste; the Tartars were nevertheless defeated, and immense numbers of them slain, in an unknown spot on the Danube, by the emperor's gallant sons, Conrad, who had hastened to oppose them from Swabia, and Enzo, from Italy, in 1241.

The terror inspired by the Mongols spread over Asia Minor and Palestine. After the departure of Richard of Cornwall, an English prince, who had unsuccessfully undertaken a petty crusade in 1241, the Charizmii, a pagan nation flying from the Mongols, entered Palestine and completely destroyed Jerusalem in 1248. The Pullanes, who had been almost annihilated at Gaza, merely retained possession of the maritime cities, Acon, Tyre, and Joppa. St. Louis, king of France, who attempted to aid them, and to reconquer the Holy Land from the side of Egypt, according to the plan of the early crusaders, took Damietta, but was himself taken prisoner. He was restored to liberty in 1254. Shortly after his return to France, he sent a monk, named Ruysbrock, a native of the German Netherlands, to Asia, for the purpose of persuading Batu to embrace Chris-

¹ In the upper valley of the Katzbachthal, known as the Schadelhohe or "Skull point," the heads of Tartar arrows, horses' shoes, etc., are still found. This is said to have been the spot where a victory was gained over the Tartars by the miners who had fled from Wahlstatt.—*Krebs Sudetenführer*, 172.

tianity. Ruisbrock, who was a tall, stout man, performed an extremely arduous journey, visiting Persia and Tartary, and even the borders of China. Batu received him in an immense city of tents, listened to him with a smile, and graciously dismissed him. In his travels he met with a woman, a native of Lothringia, who had been made captive in Hungary. She was living happily with a Russian husband. The captive Europeans were prized and well-treated on account of their knowledge and handicraft.¹—It is also related of the emperor Frederick, that when the Tartar Khan, after bestowing great encomiums on German bravery, offered to take him into his service, he laughingly replied, that he knew how to train hawks, and would become his falconer.

CLIX. *The Last Battles of Frederick the Second*

THE renewal of the league between the cities of Lombardy, in 1235, occasioned the emperor's return to Italy in 1236. His army was at first solely composed of the Italian Ghibellines, at whose head stood Ezzelino di Romano, a man famed equally for gallantry and cruelty, the grandson of a German of the same name, who had held a fief in Italy under Conrad III. The city of Pisa also warmly upheld the Ghibelline faction, while Milan and the Margrave Azzo d'Este, Ezzelino's ever restless neighbor, as warmly espoused that of the Guelphs. The Ghibellines took Vicenza by storm, and the emperor summoned his faithful adherents in the German Alps to his aid; and on their being suddenly attacked and dispersed by Frederick the Warlike while assembling for the field, instantly hastened in person, although in the depth of winter, into the Alps, and directed his second son, Conrad (to whom he had committed the regency of the empire), to attack Frederick from the north. Frederick was, consequently, compelled to retire within the fortress of Neustadt, where he stoutly defended himself (1237). Vienna was at that period made independent of the duke, and raised to the rank

¹ Ruisbrock's Travels are still extant, and are to be found in Bergerou's collection, and in the *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen*, Theil 7.

of a free imperial city. Styria was also severed from Austria, and granted a charter, which confirmed her privileges and rendered her an immediate fief of the empire.—During this year Ezzelino seized Padua, which he delivered up to the wild ravage of his soldiery. The emperor, in defiance of the papists, took ten thousand Moors, belonging to the colony of Luceria, which he had transplanted into Lower Italy, into his pay; they were chiefly instrumental in gaining a victory at Cortenuovo, in 1238, over the Lombard alliance, whose banner, and Tiepolo, the captive Podesta of Milan, were, after the battle, carried in triumph on the elephant brought by the emperor from Asia. Frederick, in honor of this victory, bestowed the hand of his lovely daughter, Selvaggia (the offspring of a lawless union), on his gallant ally, Ezzelino, and raised Enzo, another of his illegitimate children, the most beautiful youth of his time, to the throne of Sardinia, bestowing on him in marriage, Adelasia, the most wealthy heiress in the island, who, being quickly abandoned by him on account of her age and ugliness, consoled herself in the arms of a Guelphic paramour, and became his most implacable enemy.

The emperor's success in Italy excited a still more vigorous resistance on the part of the pope; and the two heads of Christendom, each of whom knew that defeat was certain annihilation, were unwearied in seeking each other's destruction. A reconciliation was hopeless. Frederick's reasons for carrying on this deadly contest, and for absenting himself from Germany, have often formed a subject for inquiry. But, when his object was so nearly attained; when a prosperous empire had been founded in Lower Italy, and his opponents in Upper Italy reduced to submission; when one step further, and the pope was rendered totally defenseless or dependent; were all these advantages, the object to which Barbarossa's ambition had aspired, to be thrown away? Was Italy to be once more ceded to the pope? and was the emperor, tranquilly seated beyond the Alps, to wait until his antagonist poured his anathemas, his legates, and a legion of

begging monks over Germany, raised against him competitors for the crown, and roused the fanaticism of the people against his supposed heresy? The renunciation of Italy, or a weak dread of the pontiff, would have involved him in calamities more dreadful than the fate of the unfortunate Henry IV.

Gregory IX., driven to the last extremity by the emperor's progress, encouraged the resistance of the Lombard league, drew Venice also into his alliance, and on Palm Sunday (1239) again excommunicated his opponent. His temporal arms failing, he had recourse to spiritual weapons, and attempted to undermine the emperor's authority by an accusation of arch-heresy. Frederick now unrelentingly attacked him: "What said the Teacher of all teachers? Peace be with you. What did he delegate to his disciples? Love. Why, therefore, dost thou, Christ's nominal vicar, act in the contrary spirit?" The pope replied: "A beast hath risen out of the sea, and hath 'opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.' With his claws and iron teeth he spreadeth destruction around." The emperor wrote in return: "Thou art thyself the beast of which it is written: 'And there went out another horse that was red; and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth.' Thou art the dragon 'which deceiveth the whole world,' the antichrist." The emperor's predilection for the East occasioned him to be accused by the pope of Mohammedanism, at that period the greatest abomination in Christendom. He was also charged with having, during his crusade, mockingly said to those around him as he pointed to a corn-field, "There grows your god," meaning the flour used in the holy wafer. The pope, blinded by rage, maintained at the same time that the emperor despised all religions, and had termed Jesus, Moses and Mahomet the three great impostors.' The emperor very logically demanded how could

¹ This calumny originated from Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, who afterward became a competitor for the throne. "Zou Frangfort sprach Keyser

he by any possibility be a Mahometan, if he had termed Mahomet an impostor? The notorious work *De Tribus Impostoribus*, although written at a later period, and neither by the emperor nor by his chancellor Peter de Vineis, or dalle Vigne, originated from this dispute.

Frederick the Warlike, the ally of the pope, had raised fresh disturbances in Germany, and by his machinations had even induced Otto of Bavaria to waver in his allegiance. The pope's projects were, however, frustrated by the shameless conduct of his legates, who rendered themselves equally obnoxious to the clergy and laity. Otto of Bavaria attacking the legate, Albert Beham, for the purpose of putting him to death, he was protected by Conrad von Wasserburg, a zealous Guelph, in his castle on the Inn, until an opportunity presented itself for escape. Notwithstanding the danger he had incurred, he returned in order to support the Guelphic Bishop Berthold of Salzburg against the Ghibelline Bishop Rudiger. Passau also sided with him. Otto, nevertheless, succeeded in beating the Guelphs out of the field, and a second time besieged the legate in the castle of Orth, where he at length took him prisoner and condemned him to a cruel death, some writers say, to be flayed alive. According to Aventin, the flayed wolf in the arms of the city of Passau was assumed in memory of the flayed legate. Conrad, bishop of Freysingen, preached against the pope, and upheld the independence of the German church. The people of Zurich expelled all the clergy, except the Franciscans, the favorers of the Ghibelline faction. The legate was expelled from Spire. A similar feeling began to show itself in Italy. Helias, a Franciscan monk, traveled through the country

Frederich: Er synt dry gewest, dy alle werlt betrogin han, Moises der had dy juden betrogin, vnde Ihesus dy christin, vnde Machemet dy heiden. Do sprach lantgrafe Henrich: desse rede togin uns nicht zou verswigin, wir mussin sy an onsern geistlichen vater den babist bringen. Vnde schreib daz kegin Rome." —*Rohte cron. Thur.* The emperor Frederick said at Frankfort he knew of three men who had deceived the whole world, Moses, who had deceived the Jews, and Jesus the Christians, and Mahomet the heathen. Then said Landgrave Henry, This speech ought not to be concealed, we must carry it to our spiritual father, the pope. And he wrote it to Rome.

preaching in the emperor's favor. The majority of the people, nevertheless, favored the pope. The Lombards regained courage; Brescia and Alexandria made a determined resistance; the discomfited Milanese gained fresh advantages; the emperor lost Ferrara. While Ezzelino and Euzio were thus hotly contesting in Upper Italy, the emperor raised fresh troops in Apulia, conquered Faenza, and carried all before him. In 1241, the pope, in order to arm himself with the whole authority of the church, having appointed a convocation of the clergy to be held during Easter at Rome, Enzo equipped a small fleet, and waylaid the French cardinals and bishops who came by sea from Genoa to Rome, accompanied by several delegates from the Lombard cities, all of whom he captured near the island of Meloria, not far from Leghorn; twenty-two galleys with three legates, above a hundred archbishops, bishops, abbots, and ambassadors, and a large sum of money on board, fell into his hands. The Pavians at the same time gained a signal victory over the Milanese, and the imperial banner was once more waving high in Italy; the pontifical castles of Narni, Tivoli, and Albano had fallen into Frederick's hands and been destroyed, the church plate collected in Apulia had been melted and coined at Grotta Ferrata, and Rome was closely besieged when Gregory IX. expired within her walls, in his ninetieth year (1241).

The emperor, in order not to impede the elevation of a successor to the pontifical throne, restored the captive cardinals to liberty; but, although their choice fell upon Sinibald Fiesco, an old friend of the emperor, who wore the tiara under the name of Innocent IV., Frederick shook his head, saying, "Instead of remaining my friend he will become my enemy, for no pope can be a Ghibelline." Nor was he deceived in his opinion; Innocent became his most implacable foe, and frustrated all his long-cherished plans by abandon-

¹ Richard, duke of Cornwall, the emperor's brother-in-law, the younger brother of Henry III. of England, was at that time staying with the emperor on his way home from Palestine. Two Moorish girls, by whom he was accompanied, amused the festive court by executing a wonderful dance on four round balls. Richard mediated, but in vain, between the pope and the emperor.

ing Italy and fixing his residence at Lyons. Had the Hohenstaufen, in their eagerness to gain possession of Italy, merely aimed at placing the pope under their influence, the object of their ambition would have been snatched away when apparently within their grasp. The pontiff's absence at once rendered the emperor's sovereignty in Italy unavailing for the ultimate success of his plans; Lyons, although in Burgundy, being entirely under the influence of France.

The pope had scarcely reached Lyons (1242) when he outvied the denunciations formerly pronounced by Gregory against Frederick, and excused his flight by falsely charging the emperor with the design of seizing his person. In 1245, he convoked a great council at Lyons, and Frederick was reduced to the necessity of sending his gallant and eloquent partisan, Taddeo di Suessa, there, as a counterpoise against the pope. Innocent said, "It is evident to the whole world that the emperor's sole object is the extirpation of the church and of the true worship of God from the earth, that he alone may be worshiped by fallen man." Taddeo eloquently defended the emperor, solemnly protested against the council, and demanded an impartial assembly and a more Christian pope. His appeal was treated with scorn; the council, governed by papal influence, was molded to his will, and the anathema formerly pronounced against Frederick II. was renewed in the severest terms. Taddeo shudderingly exclaimed, "*Dies iræ, dies doloris!*" and the assembled fathers of the church, sinking their torches and candles to the ground, extinguished them, while Innocent said with a loud voice, "May the emperor's glory and prosperity thus vanish forever!"—Frederick received the news of his condemnation with dignity. He declared, "The restoration of the church to her primitive apostolical simplicity has ever been my sole object, but the clergy regard worldly lusts more

¹ Theophrastus Paracelsus compared the pope to a bad wife, and the emperor to a good husband whom she tormented. "He no sooner asserts his authority than she seeks for friends, as the pope seeks the French, to assist her in wickedly overcoming her lord and master."

than the fear of God. It was your duty, as temporal princes, to have aided your sovereign, but you deserted his cause, and allowed the whole world to fall into the extended jaws of the pope." The pope replied, "Christ founded not merely a spiritual, but also a temporal supremacy, both of which he bestowed on St. Peter and on his successor the pope, as is clearly demonstrated by the two keys of the apostle." By this assumption of temporal sovereignty, Innocent IV. destroyed the ancient aristocratic gradation in the church, and rendered her government an unlimited despotism, in which one alone, the pope himself, ruled, and the rest of mankind was reduced to slavery.¹ However unwillingly this interruption and deprivation of the power they had enjoyed since the time of Adalbert of Mayence might be beheld by the spiritual lords, the pope was of too energetic and decisive a character, and his authority over the superstitious multitude too great, for them to venture openly to oppose his mandates, and the powerful Rhenish archbishops, so long protected by the Hohenstaufen against Rome, voluntarily yielded to her supremacy, and forgot their allegiance to the now aged emperor.

Theodorich, archbishop of Treves, the emperor's most faithful partisan in Germany, and the guardian of the youthful Conrad, died, and was succeeded by Arnold, a zealous papist, by whom the Rhenish archbishops were induced to elect Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia, emperor, at Hochheim near Wurzburg, 1246. None of the temporal princes were present; none except the lawless Raspe, the poisoner of the child of the ill-fated Elisabeth, played this dishonorable part, but they also showed great lukewarmness toward the regent, Conrad, the majority of them preserving a perfect neutrality, and, during the contest between the emperors, merely seeking to fix their individual power on a firmer basis. The pope had, moreover,

¹ The pope, while holding this council at Lyons, first conferred on the cardinals the privilege of wearing red habits, in sign of their readiness to shed their blood for the church.

offered the Hohenstaufen inheritance to the highest bidder, and drawn Conrad's vassals from their allegiance. In the first engagement that took place between Conrad and the Raspe near Frankfort, two of the most powerful Swabian nobles, the Counts de Citobergo and de Croheligo, probably Wurtemberg and Gröningen,¹ deserted to the enemy, bribed by a promise of the partition of Swabia between them on the part of the pope. Conrad was consequently defeated, and, after the battle, Rudolf of Baden also went over to the Raspe. Otto of Bavaria, whose daughter Conrad wedded, remained true to his allegiance, and the cities of Upper Germany, which had always been protected by the Hohenstaufen, and feared the overwhelming power of the bishops and the ambitious projects of the princes and counts, rose in his defense. The citizens of Metz, Strasburg, Frankfort, Erfurt, Eichstadt, Wurzburg, and Ratisbon, took up arms against their bishops;² Reutlingen defied the attempts of the Raspe, who unsuccessfully laid siege to the town. The citizens of Reutlingen afterward built their cathedral of St. Maria the length of the gigantic battering-ram left by the Raspe before their walls. Henry Raspe afterward advanced upon Ulm, where he was surprised and defeated by Conrad. A severe wound compelled him to seek refuge in the Wartburg, where he expired in 1247.

During these disturbances, Bela, king of Hungary, who had recovered from the Tartar invasion, and had even gained an accession to his strength by the settlement of the Cumans, a wild nation flying from the Tartars, in Hungary, attacked Frederick the Warlike, who had refused to restore the treas-

¹ According to Mattheüs Paris, Ulrich of Wurtemberg, with the great thumb, is mentioned in one of the pope's letters as an enemy of the Staufen, and his brother, Hartmann von Gröningen, is recorded by Conradin as another.

² The people of Zurich also compelled their clergy to perform the church service in defiance of the papal interdict. The citizens of Eichstadt expelled their bishop, Frederick, and elected laymen in his stead, who administered the sacrament while the bells rang a joyous peal. A great number of priests were murdered at Wurzburg. These riots were cunningly turned to advantage by the pope, who, by decreeing that no bishop should in future place a city under interdict without his especial permission, reduced the bishops to a greater state of dependence upon Rome, while at the same time he conciliated the cities.

ures which Bela had intrusted to his care in order to secure them from the Tartars. A bloody engagement took place near Neustadt, in which Frederick was killed by the Italian Frangipani, whose family acquired great possessions in Hungary, in 1246. Frederick left two sisters, Margaretha, the widow of King Henry, who resided in a convent at Treves, and Constance, the wife of the Margrave Henry von Meissen; besides a niece, Gertrude, the wife of Hermann von Baden, and the mother of Frederick. The emperor took possession of Austria as a lapsed fief, and placed over it his old friend, Otto of Bavaria, who had inherited the Rhenish Pfalz in right of his wife, the daughter of the Pfalzgraf Henry, the son of Henry the Lion, and had annexed it to Bavaria. His sons repartitioned the inheritance, Louis the Cruel taking possession of Bavaria, and Henry, of the Pfalz. The pope, meanwhile, bestowed Austria upon Bela as a papal fief, and the Hungarians, whom Otto of Bavaria was too old and helpless to oppose, laid the country waste, but were at length expelled by Ottocar of Bohemia.

Henry Raspe dying without issue, the pope sought for another competitor for the throne. William the Rude, count of Holland, was the only one among the princes whom he could persuade to play the part, and his election was solely supported by the duke of Brabant, who claimed Thuringia as his inheritance, and by Ottocar, king of Bohemia, who aimed at depriving the Hohenstaufen of Austria. William, who was elected at Woringen near Cologne, by the Rhenish archbishops, battled for a whole year with the citizens of Aix-la-Chapelle, who viewed his pretensions with contempt, before obtaining an entry into their city, which was gallantly defended by William, count of Juliers, the faithful adherent of Frederick II., until forced to surrender by the flood poured into the city by the enemy, who attempted "to drown them in their own water." William of Holland, also, received aid from Flanders in 1248.

Johanna of Constantinople, whose husband, Ferrand of Portugal, had been taken prisoner at Bouvines, in 1214,

and still languished in France, reigned over Flanders. Her younger sister, Margaretha, had wedded Burkhard d'Avesnes, a man celebrated for his handsome person and deep learning, who had been nominated regent of Flanders during her sister's minority. The importunities of Philip Augustus of France in favor of a lame Burgundian, whom he offered to her as a husband, hastened her marriage with her guardian, in which the Flemish joyfully concurred. Burkhard was a man of noble birth, who had been Doctor Juris and professor at Orleans, a canon at Doornik, and dubbed knight in England. This highly-gifted adventurer, at the time of his union with Margaretha, concealed the fact of his having been a priest, nor was this circumstance discovered until after the birth of two children. It appears that France dreaded lest Burkhard's popularity in Flanders might contravene her projects, and that on the demise of the childless Johanna he might be elected her successor on the throne; Burkhard was consequently formally accused of having broken his vow of celibacy, and Johanna, possibly influenced by jealousy on account of her childless state, or by a hope of winning over the French king to restore her husband to liberty, aided him in persecuting the unfortunate Burkhard, who fled to Rome and entreated the pope to grant him a dispensation. The pope refused, and condemned him to do penance for the space of a year by fighting against the infidels in the Holy Land. He obeyed; received, on his return, absolution from the pope, and hastened back to Flanders, in order to renew his union with Margaretha. His arrival was no sooner made known to Johanna than she ordered him to be arrested and privately executed at Ruppelmonde. She also declared his children illegitimate, in 1218. This crime was, however, unable to gain the favor of the French monarch, by whom Ferrand was retained in prison until 1226, when he merely regained liberty on payment of an immense ransom, and on condition of leveling every fortress in Flanders with the ground. Artois was annexed to France, and bestowed by Louis IX. on his

brother Robert. On the demise of Ferrand in 1233, Johanna was forced by France to espouse Thomas, earl of Savoy.

Margaretha became the wife of Guillaume de Dampierre, a Burgundian noble. Dampierre died in 1241, leaving children by Margaretha. Johanna died childless in 1244. Thomas, whose brother William was bishop of Liege, supported him in a feud with Walram von Limburg, in 1237, and in another with Henry of Brabant, whom he took prisoner. He left Flanders, laden with costly gifts, on the death of Johanna, when the government passed into the hands of Margaretha, surnamed the Black, on account of her disposition, which misfortune had rendered gloomy and obdurate. Her unnatural hatred of her eldest son, John d'Avesnes, caused her to listen the more readily to the persuasions of France, and to allow her younger son, Guillaume de Dampierre, to hold Flanders in fee of that crown. This insolent youth, when in the French court at Peronne, publicly termed his brother John a bastard. John, finding powerful support in the Hennegau, and a friend and brother-in-law in William of Holland, took up arms, but was pacified by a division of the inheritance. On the death of Margaretha, in 1246, he was to have received the Hennegau, Guillaume de Dampierre, Flanders; but the emperor William, discontented with this division, also bestowed Imperial Flanders on John, in fee of the empire. The pope also favored his cause, declared him legitimate, and the marriage of his unfortunate father legal. The pope also gained over Burgundy and the Rhenish clergy. William, by his profuse distribution of the crown lands, created a faction in his favor, and at length brought an army into the field by which Conrad was defeated at Oppenheim in 1247. This defeat ruined Conrad's hopes in Germany. The cities, although still firm in their allegiance, were intimidated by the danger of openly disputing with the church, more especially since the citizens of Swabian Hall, by their excessive zeal, had brought upon themselves a charge of heresy. Conrad narrowly escaped as-

sassination in the monastery of St. Emmeran. Shortly before this, when Conrad was conducting his young sister Margaretha to the Landgrave Albrecht the Degenerate, of Thuringia, and the citizens of Ratisbon sent their delegates to accompany her, Albrecht, bishop of Ratisbon, had attacked them, and taken prisoner forty of the most considerable among them, upon which Conrad and the Landgrave laid the episcopal lands waste with fire and sword. The bishop, in revenge, persuaded the abbot of St. Emmeran to murder the king during his sleep. He was saved by Frederick von Euwesheim (Wysheim, Eberstein, according to different readings), who, concealing him under the bed, laid himself in it, and allowed himself, together with six of his companions, to be murdered in his stead. The monastery was afterward plundered by Conrad's adherents, who, in their blind fury, committed five hundred manuscripts to the flames. Conrad was now on the brink of ruin; the pope incessantly encouraged the powerful princes of the church to the attack; the princes of the empire, bent upon advancing their own individual interests, preserved a strict neutrality, and the allegiance of the Hohenstaufen vassals became daily more doubtful. The downfall of the imperial house, which was unable either to make head against, or to come to terms with the pope, evidently approached, and many a hand was stretched out, not to avert its impending ruin, but to seize a share in the spoil. William of Holland, meanwhile, aided his brother-in-law, John d'Avesnes, in Flanders. Guillaume de Dampierre was mortally wounded at a tournament. His mother, Margaretha, and his younger brother, attempted to defend Flanders against the emperor and John d'Avesnes, but were defeated at Westcappel on the island of Walchern, and the latter taken prisoner in 1253. Margaretha implored aid from France, and sold Flanders to Charles d'Anjou (brother to Louis IX.), who subsequently attained such notoriety. This prince marched with a numerous army into Flanders, defying the emperor William, whom he scoffingly termed the Water-king, to meet him on dry land. He was

completely put to the rout, and pursued as far as Valen-ciennes.

The pope, constant in his hatred of the Hohenstaufen, also incessantly endeavored to undermine their power in Italy. His first attempt was the formation of a conspiracy in Apulia, which being discovered and crushed in the bud, he urged (1240) the Guelphs of Lombardy to take up arms; and the wealthy cities of Upper Italy, incited by the pope and by their own ambition, suddenly entered into open and furious warfare with one another, Genoa striving to rule the sea and commerce, Milan, Lombardy, and Florence, Tuscany. The most eminent among the citizens coveted the rank and power of princes, while, at the same time, the defeat of the Ghibellines promised them great acquisitions in land and wealth. The emperor, notwithstanding the disturbed state of affairs, held an imperial diet at Verona, which was in truth but thinly attended, and made a solemn protestation of his innocence of the charges made against him by the pope. He also wrote in the following terms to the king of England: "Our majesty is uninjured by the pope's anathema. Our conscience is pure. God is with us. Our sole aim has ever been to bring the clergy back to their primitive apostolical simplicity and humility. They were formerly saints, healed the sick, performed miracles; now they are led astray by their own wantonness, and the spirit of covetousness has stifled in their hearts that of religion. Had our ancestors bequeathed to us the example afforded by us to posterity, the church could never have succeeded in thus ignominiously persecuting her benefactors." Frederick, on one occasion, ordered all his crowns to be placed before him, and energetically exclaimed, "I still possess them all; no pope shall deprive me of them!" The uncurbed spirit of the aged but still haughty emperor was shared by his faction, which treated the church with open contempt. Ezzelino publicly avowed himself the sworn enemy of the clergy. Irreconcilable hatred hardened every heart; mercy was unknown; and Ezzelino bathed in the blood of his enemies, shed indiscrimi-

nately on the scaffold and on the battlefield. He and young Enzo were the most powerful supporters of the imperial cause. The siege of Parma long engaged the attention of the emperor, who built a new town, to which he gave the proud name of Victoria, opposite the ancient city. The Parmesans, however, stung to the quick by the execution of Marcellinus, bishop of Arezzo, whom the emperor's Moorish soldiers had at his command dragged to death at a horse's tail, made a furious sally, in which Taddeo di Suessa, now an aged man, was killed, the imperial crown fell into their hands, and Victoria was totally destroyed, in 1248. The Ghibellines, notwithstanding this repulse, again for a short time gained the upper hand; Enzo attacked Bologna in 1249, and was taken prisoner; his restoration to liberty was obstinately refused by the citizens, although his imperial father offered a silver ring, for his ransom, equal in circumference to their city, and in his twenty-fourth year this noble youth, whose mental qualities, extraordinary beauty, and remarkable valor had already gained for him the highest fame, was doomed to end his life in a dungeon. He was celebrated as a Minnesinger.

This misfortune broke the hitherto unbending spirit of his father, and his health began to decline. At the recommendation of his old friend and counselor, Peter de Vineis, he took a certain physician into his service, but, being told that Peter had secretly embraced the papal cause and intended to poison him, he ordered the medicine prepared for him to be given to a malefactor, who instantly expired. This proof of infidelity extorted a bitter lament from the aged monarch: "Alas!" exclaimed he, "I am abandoned by my most faithful friends. Peter, the friend of my heart, on whom I leaned for support, has deserted me and sought my destruction. Whom can I now trust? My days are henceforth doomed to pass in sorrow and suspicion!" Peter was deprived of sight

¹ It is conjectured that Peter, who had already remained silent at the council of Lyons, had entirely lost courage, but was innocent of any intention to abandon the emperor, until driven to do so by the displeasure of his master and the wicked-

and thrown into prison, where he killed himself in despair by dashing his brains out against the wall. Ezzelino beginning to yield, the emperor once more roused himself, and, assembling a fresh army of Moors from Africa, for some time kept the field, until suddenly overtaken by illness at Firenzuola, where he expired on the 13th of December, 1250.¹ His corpse was carried to Palermo, and there interred. The luster of the seven crowns that adorned his brow, that of the Roman empire, that of the kingdom of Germany, the iron diadem of Lombardy, and those of Burgundy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Jerusalem, was far surpassed by his intellectual gifts and graces. On his tomb being opened in 1781, his body was discovered wrapped in embroidered robes, the feet booted and spurred, on the head the imperial crown, in the hand the ball and scepter, and on the finger a costly emerald.

CLX. *Conrad the Fourth and Conradin*

THE news of the emperor's death was received with exultation by the pontiff: "Let the heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." With insolent triumph he wrote to the city of Naples, declaring that he took her forthwith into his possession, and that she should never again be under the control of a temporal sovereign. He also declared the Hohenstaufen to have forfeited their right upon Apulia and Sicily, and even upon Swabia. The Alemannic princes made a lavish use of the freedom from all restraint granted to them by the pope. The Alpine nobles became equally lawless. Baso, bishop of

ness of his calumniators. Dante, who, like some other writers, believed him innocent, places the following words in the mouth of his spirit:

"Per le nuove radici d'esto legno
Vi giuro che giammai non ruppi fede
Al mio signor che fu d'onor sì degno:
E se di voi alcun nel mondo riede,
Conforti la memoria mia che giace
Ancor del colpo che' nvidia le diede."

— *Canto XIII. dell' Inferno.*

¹ It having been foretold to him that he would expire among flowers, he avoided the city of Florence, and disregarded Firenzuola.

Sion, a papal partisan, whom William of Holland had empowered to confiscate the lands of the Ghibellines, countenancing the tyranny exercised by Mangipan, lord of Mörill, over the Valais peasantry, they applied for aid to Peter, earl of Savoy, by whom he was humbled (1251). In 1255, the Ghibelline bishop, Henry of Coire, took the field against the Rhætian dynasts, who discovered equal insolence, and defeated them and their allies, the Lombard Guelphs, at Enns. The imperial cause was sustained in Upper Italy by Ezzelino, in Lower Italy by Manfred. This prince, Enzo's rival in talent, valor, and beauty, was a son of the emperor by his mistress Blanca Lancia, whom he afterward married. Born and educated in Italy, he was the idol of his countrymen, and, as prince of Tarento, was by no means a despicable antagonist to the pope.

Conrad IV., Frederick's eldest son and successor, everywhere driven from the field in Germany, took refuge in Italy, and, trusting that his father's death had conciliated the pope, offered in his necessity to submit to any conditions he might impose, if he were recognized emperor by him. His advances were treated with silent contempt. Manfred, with a truly noble and fraternal spirit, ceded the sovereignty of Italy to his brother, whom he aided both in word and deed. In 1253, the royal brothers captured Capua and Naples, where Conrad placed a bridle in the mouth of an antique colossal horse's head, the emblem of the city. The terrible fate that pursued the imperial family was not to be averted by success. Their younger brother, Henry, the son of Isabella of England, to whom the throne of Sicily had been destined by his father, suddenly expired, and, in 1254, his fate was shared by Conrad in his twenty-sixth year. Their deaths were ascribed to poison, said, by the Guelphs, to have been administered by Conrad to Henry, and by Manfred to Conrad. The crime was, nevertheless, indubitably committed by the papal faction, the pope and the Guelphs being solely interested in the destruction of the Hohenstaufen. Manfred's rule in Italy was certainly secured to him

by the death of his legitimate brothers, but on the other hand it deprived him of all hope of aid from Germany, and his total inability unaided to oppose the pope was evident immediately after Conrad's death, when he made terms with the pontiff, to whom he ceded the whole of Lower Italy, Tarento alone excepted. He was, nevertheless, speedily necessitated again to take up arms against the lieutenant of the pope, and was driven by suspicion of a design against his life to make a last and desperate defense. The German mercenaries at Nocera under the command of the Margrave von Hochberg, and the Moors who had served under the emperor Frederick, flocked beneath his banner, and on the death of the pontiff in 1254, who expired on the anniversary of the death of Frederick II., affairs suddenly changed. The cardinals elected Alexander IV., who was powerless against Manfred's party; and the son of Conrad IV., the young Duke Conradin of Swabia, whose minority was passed in obscurity at the court of his uncle of Bavaria, being unable to assert his claim to the crown of Apulia, the hopes of the Ghibellines of Lower Italy naturally centered in Manfred, who was unanimously proclaimed king by his faithful vassals, and crowned at Palermo, 1258.

In Upper Italy the affairs of the Ghibellines wore a contrary aspect. Ezzelino, after making a desperate defense at Cassano, was defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner. He died of his wounds in 1259, scornfully rejecting to the last all spiritual aid. His more gentle brother, Alberich, after seeing his wife and children cruelly butchered, was dragged to death at a horse's tail. The rest of the Ghibelline chiefs met with an equally wretched fate. These horrible scenes of bloodshed worked so forcibly upon the feelings of even the hardened Italians, that numbers arrayed themselves in sackcloth, and did penance at the grave of Alberich: this circumstance gave rise to the sect of the Flagellants, who ran lamenting, praying, preaching repentance, and wounding themselves and others with bloody stripes, through the streets, in order to atone for the sins of the world.

It was in the course of this year that Manfred solemnized his second nuptials with Helena, the daughter of Michael of Ætolia and Cyprus, who was then in her seventeenth year, and famed for her extraordinary loveliness. The uncommon beauty of the bridal pair, and the charms of their court, which, as in Frederick's time, was composed of the most distinguished bards and the most beautiful women, were such as to justify the expression used by a poet of the times, "Paradise had once more appeared upon earth." Manfred, like his father and his brother Enzo, was himself a Minnesinger. His marriage with Helena had gained for him the alliance of Greece, and the union of Constance, his daughter by a former marriage, with Peter of Aragon, confirmed his amity with Spain. He was now enabled (1260) to send aid to the distressed Ghibellines in Lombardy. They were again victorious at Montaperto, and the gallant Pallavicini became his lieutenant in Upper Italy. The pope was compelled to flee from Rome to Viterbo. The city of Manfredonia, so named after its founder, Manfred, was built at this period.

The Guelphs, alarmed at Manfred's increasing power, now sought for foreign aid, and raised a Frenchman, Urban IV., to the pontifical throne. This pope induced Charles d'Anjou, the brother of the French monarch, who had already "fished in troubled waters" in Flanders, to grasp at the crown of Apulia. On the death of Urban, in 1265, another Frenchman, Clement V., succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, and greatly contributed to hasten the projected invasion. Charles was gloomy and priest-ridden; extremely unprepossessing in his person, and of an olive complexion; invariably cold, silent, and reserved in manner, impatient of gayety or cheerfulness, and so cold-blooded and cruel as to be viewed with horror even by his bigoted brother, St. Louis. This ill-omened prince at first fixed his residence in the Arelat, where the emperor's rights were without a champion, and then sailed with a powerful fleet to Naples in 1266. France, until now a listless spectator, for the first time op-

posed her influence to that of Germany in Italy, and henceforward pursued the policy of taking advantage of the disunited state of the German empire in order to seize one province after another.

Manfred collected his whole strength to oppose the French invader, but the clergy tampered with his soldiery and sowed treason in his camp. Charles no sooner landed than Riccardo di Caseta abandoned the mountain pass intrusted to his defense, and allowed the French to advance unmolested as far as Benevento, where, on the 26th of February, 1266, a decisive battle was fought, in which Manfred, notwithstanding his gallant efforts, being worsted, threw himself in despair in the thickest of the fight, where he fell, covered with wounds. Charles, on the score of heresy, refused him honorable burial, but the French soldiery, touched by his beauty and gallantry, cast each of them a stone upon his body, which was by this means buried beneath a hillock still known by the natives as the rock of roses.¹

Helena, accompanied by her daughter Beatrice and her three infant sons, Henry, Frederick, and Anselino, sought safety in flight, but was betrayed to Charles, who threw her and her children into a dungeon, where she shortly languished and died. Beatrice was saved from a similar fate by Peter of Aragon, to whom she was delivered in exchange for a son of Charles d'Anjou, who had fallen into his hands. The three boys were consigned to a narrow dungeon, where, loaded with chains, half-naked, ill-fed, and untaught, they remained in perfect seclusion for the space of thirty-one years. In 1297 they were released from their chains, and allowed to be visited by a priest and a physician. The eldest, Henry, died in 1309. With fanatical rage, Charles destroyed every vestige of the reign of the Hohenstaufen in Lower Italy.

¹ L'ossa del corpo mio sariano ancora
In co del ponte, presso a Benevento,
Sotto la guardia della grave mora.

—Dante, Canto III. del *Purgatorio*.

Italy was forever torn from the empire, from which Burgundy, too long neglected for the sake of her classic sister, was also severed. Her southern provinces, Provence, Vienne, and Toulouse were annexed to France, while her more northern ones, the counties of Burgundy and Savoy, became an almost independent state.

While the name and power of the Hohenstaufen family was being thus annihilated in Italy, Germany, seemed to have forgotten her ancient fame. The princes and vassals, who mainly owed their influence to the Staufen, had ungratefully deprived the orphaned Conradin of his inheritance. Swabia was his merely in name, and he would, in all probability, have shared the fate of his Italian relatives had he not found an asylum in the court of Louis of Bavaria.

William of Holland, with a view of increasing his popularity by an alliance with the Welfs, espoused Elisabeth, the daughter of Otto of Brunswick. The faction of the Welfs had, however, been too long broken ever to regain strength, and the circumstance of the destruction of his false crown (the genuine one being still in Italy) during a conflagration which burst out on the night of the nuptials, and almost proved fatal to him and his bride, rendered him an object of fresh ridicule. He disgraced the dignity he had assumed by his lavish sale or gift of the imperial prerogatives and lands to his adherents, whom he by these means bribed to uphold his cause, and by his complete subserviency to the pope. His despicable conduct received its fitting reward: no city, none of the temporal nor even of the spiritual lords throughout the empire, tolerated his residence within their demesnes. Conrad, archbishop of Cologne, ordered the roof of the house in which he resided at Nuys to be set on fire, in order to enforce his departure. At Utrecht, a stone was cast at him in the church. His wife was seduced by a Count von Waldeck. This wretched emperor was at length compelled to retire into Holland, where he employed himself in attempting to reduce a petty nation, the West Frisians, beneath his yoke. This expedition terminated fatally to himself alone;

when crossing a frozen morass on horseback, armed cap-a-pie, the ice gave way beneath the weight, and while in this helpless situation, unable either to extricate or defend himself, he was attacked and slain by some Friscian boors, to whom he was personally unknown. On discovering his rank, they were filled with terror at their own daring, and buried him with the utmost secrecy. The regency of Holland was committed to Adelheid, the wife of John d'Avesnes, during the minority of her nephew, Florens V., the son of William. She was expelled by the Dutch, who disdained a woman's control. Florens succeeded to the government on attaining his majority. On the death of the emperor, John d'Avesnes was induced by a political motive to conciliate his mother and stepbrothers, who were supported by France. The departure of Charles d'Anjou was purchased with large sums of money. Guy de Dampierre obtained Flanders; John d'Avesnes, merely the Hennegau. Namur passed from the hands of Philip, the brother of Baldwin of Constantinople, by intermarriage, into those of the French monarch, but was sold by Louis to Guy de Dampierre, who bestowed it on one of his sons. Artois remained annexed to France.

The northern Friscians greatly distinguished themselves at this period by their spirited contest with the Danes. Waldemar had left several sons, Erich, Abel, Christoph, etc. Erich, on mounting the throne in 1241, attempted to reconquer Holstein and Lubeck, in which he signally failed, and his metropolis, Copenhagen, was burned to the ground, in 1248, by a Lubeck fleet. Erich was basely slain by his brother Abel, who cast his corpse, laden with chains, into the water, and seized the sovereignty, in 1250; and this monster of infamy was offered the imperial throne by Innocent IV., when that pontiff was seeking for a fitting tool to set up in opposition to the Hohenstaufen. Abel was a tyrant. The heavy taxes imposed by him on the northern Friscians, in the west of Schleswig, inducing a rebellion, he invaded their country, but was defeated by the brave peasantry, and slain on the Myllerdamm by a wheelwright, named Henner.

His corpse was interred in the cathedral at Schleswig, but his ghost becoming restless and troublesome, it was disinterred, pierced with a stake, and sunk in a swamp at Gottorp, 1251. He was succeeded by his more moderate brother, Christoph, who was poisoned in 1259 by the canon Arnefast. The pope was implicated in the commission of this crime, Christoph having refused to submit to the authority assumed by the clergy; his son was consequently rejected by the Danish bishops, who raised Erich, the son of Abel, to the throne. The pope, the former friend of the lawless Abel, raised Christoph's assassin to the bishopric of Aarhus. Margaretha, Christoph's widow, and her infant son, Erich Glipping, the blinkard, maintained their station for a while, but the opposing faction being succored by the Earls Gerhard and John of Holstein, they were defeated and taken prisoners on the Lohaide near Schleswig, in 1261. Albrecht of Brunswick, their most active supporter, governed Denmark in Margaretha's name. Margaretha also succeeded in obtaining pardon from the pope, by a pilgrimage undertaken by her for that purpose to Rome. Her son Erich became king of Denmark, and Erich, the son of Abel, duke of Schleswig. Erich Glipping was despotic, dissolute, and lawless; he was murdered in his sleep, in 1286, in revenge for having violated the wife of Stigo, the marshal of his empire. By the notorious Birka Rett, a new code of laws compiled by this monarch, he had completely deprived the Danes of their ancestral rights and liberties, and reduced the peasantry to servitude; a measure that gained for him the favor of the clergy and nobility. He was succeeded by his son, Erich Menved.

On the death of Conrad IV. and of William of Holland, fresh competitors for the crown appeared, although undemanded by the German princes, each of whom strove to protract the confusion that reigned throughout the empire, and utterly to annihilate the imperial power, in order to increase their own. The crown was, in consequence, only claimed by two foreign princes, who rivaled each other in wealth, and

the world beheld the extraordinary spectacle of the sale of the shadow crown of Germany to the highest bidder. The electoral princes were even base enough to work upon the vanity of the wealthy Count Hermann von Henneberg, who coveted the imperial title, in order to extract from him large sums of money, without having the slightest intention to perform their promises. Alfonso of Castile sent twenty thousand silver marks from Spain, and was in return elected emperor by Treves, Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg. Richard, duke of Cornwall, however, sent thirty-two tons of gold from England, which purchased for him the votes of Cologne, Mayence, and Bavaria; and, to the scandal of all true Germans, both competitors, neither of whom were present, were simultaneously elected emperor, Alfonso in Frankfurt on the Maine, and Richard outside the walls of the same city, in 1257. Alfonso, buried in the study of astronomy, never visited Germany. Richard claimed the throne, without regarding the superior rights of Conradin,¹ in right of his wife, the sister of Frederick II., as the heir of the Hohenstaufen, a claim which drew upon him the suspicions of the pontiff, who, notwithstanding Richard's apparent humility, delayed his recognition of him as emperor. In Germany, where he made his first appearance on the defeat of the citizens of Treves at Boppard by his rival Conrad of Cologne, he was merely held in consideration as long as his treasury was full. Necessity ere long compelled him to return to England. In 1268 he revisited Germany, where, during his short stay, he attempted to abolish the customs levied on the Rhine.² It was during this visit that he became enamored of Göde von Falkenstein, the most beautiful woman of the day, whom he persuaded to accompany him to England.

¹ He released Zürich from her allegiance to Conradin, and bribed Count Ulrich (with the thumb) of Wurtemberg, who had just inherited the rich county of Urach, with one thousand silver marks.

² The Englishman, Thomas Wikes, even at that period termed the Rhenish customs "*furiosam Teutonicorum insaniam*." The name of the city of Antwerp is allied with the idea of customs. A giant named Duion is said to have formerly levied a toll upon passengers on the spot where the city now stands, and to have cut off one of the smugglers' hands, which he threw into the water, hence, Hand Werf (throw hand)—Antwerp.

Conradin, the last of the Hohenstaufen, resided sometimes in the court of Louis of Bavaria, at other times under his protection at the castle of Ravensburg on the Bodensee, an ancient allod of the Welfs, which had formerly been bequeathed by Welf the elder to Barbarossa. In this retreat he associated with a young man of his own age, Frederick, the son of Hermann, Margrave of Baden. Frederick assumed the surname "of Austria," on account of his mother, who was a descendant of the house of Babenberg; he cherished, moreover, a hope of gaining possession of that duchy, on the restoration of the Hohenstaufen. Conradin and Frederick became inseparable companions; equally enthusiastic and imaginative, their ambitious aspirations found vent in song, and sportive fancy embellished the stern features of reality. One of Conradin's ballads is still extant. His mother, Elisabeth, who, on the death of Conrad IV., had carried him for protection to the court of her brother, Louis of Bavaria, had wedded Meinhard, Count von Görtz, the possessor of the Tyrol. In 1255, Munich became the ducal residence, and the metropolis of Bavaria. (In 1248, the dukes of Meran-Andechs becoming extinct on the death of Otto, their possessions fell to his cousin, Albrecht, Count of Tyrol, whose daughter, Adelheid, brought them in dower to her husband, Meinhard I., Count von Görtz. Meinhard left two sons, Meinhard II., who wedded Elisabeth, and obtained the Tyrol, and Albrecht, who succeeded to Görtz.) Bavaria was now the sole supporter of the fallen imperial dynasty. Gratitude toward the Hohenstaufen, however, was far from being the guiding motive of this selfish prince, who solely aimed at turning his guardianship to advantage by laying Conradin under an obligation which he was bound to repay if restored to his dignity, or, in case of his destruction, by seizing all that remained of the Hohenstaufen inheritance. Cruel and choleric, he was one day seized with jealousy on perusing a letter innocently penned by his consort, Maria of Brabant, and in a fit of sudden fury stabbed the bearer of the letter, the castellan, and a waiting-woman, threw the chief

lady in attendance out of the window, and ordered his unoffending wife to execution (1256). When too late, he became convinced of her innocence, and was seized with such terrible despair that his hair turned white in one night; in order to propitiate Heaven, he founded the wealthy abbey of Furstenfeld.

The seclusion of Conradin's life and the neglect with which he was treated became daily more harassing to him as he grew up, and he gladly accepted a proposal on the part of the Italian Ghibellines, inviting him to place himself at their head. He was, moreover, confirmed in his resolution by Louis of Bavaria and Meinhard von Görtz, who even accompanied him into Italy, but merely for the purpose of watching over their own interests, by persuading the unsuspecting youth, in return for their pretended support, either to sell or mortgage to them the possessions and rights of his family. Conradin was still duke of Swabia,¹ and held the ancient Franconian possessions of the Salic emperors. The private possessions of the Hohenstaufen having been declared crown property by Frederick II., the majority of the petty lords in Franconia,² unawed either by the power of the emperor or by that of the duke, had asserted their independence as immediate subjects of the empire. In Swabia, Conradin's dignity was merely upheld for the purpose of legitimating robbery and fraud, and his last official act as duke was the signature of a document which deprived him of his lawful rights.³ His conviction of their eventual loss inclined him to cede them voluntarily, particularly as the sale furnished

¹ According to a curious document in the *Allegranza opuscoli eruditi latini et italici*, at Cremona in 1781, the emperor, Frederick II., confirmed the annexation of Chiavenna to the duchy of Swabia, to which the whole of Switzerland and Alsace belonged. On the fall of the Hohenstaufen this duchy was divided into innumerable petty counties, bishoprics, townships, independent societies of knights, and free cantons of peasantry.

² It was in this manner and at this time that the great forest of Dreieich, which belonged to the crown, came into the hands of the lords of Falkenstein, Hanau, and Isenburg.

³ Ulrich, count of Würtemberg, received the office of Marshal of Swabia and that of imperial governor in Ulm and in the Pyrss (the free peasantry of the Leutkirche heath). He nevertheless remained inactive in Conradin's cause.

him with funds for raising troops. In the autumn of 1267, he crossed the Alps at the head of ten thousand men, and was welcomed at Verona by the Scala, the chiefs of the Ghibelline faction. The meanness of his German relatives and friends was here undisguisedly displayed. Louis, after persuading him to part with his remaining possessions at a low price, quitted him, and was followed by Meinhard, and by the greater number of the Germans. This desertion reduced his army to three thousand men.

The Italian Ghibellines remained true to their word. Verona raised an army in Lombardy, Pisa equipped a large fleet, the Moors of Luceria took up arms, and Rome welcomed the youthful heir of the Hohenstaufen by forcing the pope once more to retreat to Viterbo. He was also joined by two brothers of Alfonso, the phantom monarch, Henry and Frederick, and marched unopposed to Rome, at whose gates he was met and conducted to the Capitol by a procession of beautiful girls bearing musical instruments and flowers. The Pisanese, meanwhile, gained a signal victory off Messina over the French fleet, and burned a great number of the enemy's ships. Conradin entered Lower Italy and encountered the French army under Charles, at Scurcola, where his Germans, after beating the enemy back, deeming the victory their own, carelessly dispersed to seek for booty, some among them even refreshed themselves by bathing: in this condition they were suddenly attacked by the French, who had watched their movements, and were completely put to the rout, August 23, 1268. Conradin and Frederick owed their escape to the fleetness of their steeds, but were basely betrayed into Charles's hands at Astura, when crossing the sea to Pisa, by John Frangipani, whose family had been laden with benefits by the Hohenstaufen. Conradin, while playing at chess with his friend in prison, calmly listened to the sentence of death pronounced upon him. On October 22, 1268, he was conducted, with Frederick and his other companions, to the scaffold erected in the market-place at Naples. The French even were roused to indig-

nation at this spectacle, and Charles's son-in-law, Robert, earl of Flanders, drawing his sword, cut down the officer commissioned to read the sentence of death in public, saying, as he dealt the blow, "Wretch! how darest thou condemn such a great and excellent knight?" Conradin, in his address to the people, said, "I cite my judge before the highest tribunal. My blood, shed on this spot, shall cry to Heaven for vengeance. Nor do I esteem my Swabians and Bavarians, my Germans, so low, as not to trust that this stain on the honor of the German nation will be washed out by them in French blood." He then threw his glove on the ground, charging him who raised it to bear it to Peter, king of Aragon, to whom, as his nearest relative, he bequeathed all his claims. The glove was raised by Henry, Truchsess von Waldburg, who found within it the seal ring of the unfortunate prince, and henceforth bare in his arms the three black lions of the Staufen. His last bequests thus made, Conradin knelt fearlessly before the block, and the head of the last of the Hohenstaufen rolled on the scaffold.¹ A cry of agony burst from the heart of his friend, whose head also fell; nor was Charles's revenge satiated until almost every Ghibelline had fallen by the hand of the executioner.² Conradin's unhappy mother, who had vainly offered a large

¹ Malaspina, although a Guelph and a papal writer, sublimely describes Conradin's wretched fate, his courage, and his beauty. "Non voce querula, sed ad cœlum jungebat palmas. Suum Domino spiritum commendabat, nec divertebat caput sed exhibebat se quasi victimam et cæoris truces ictus in patientia expectabat. Madet terra pulchro cruore diffuso, tabetque juvenili sanguine eruentata. Jacet veluti flos purpureus improvida falce succisus."

² The Germans, nevertheless, looked on with indifference, and shortly afterwards elected an emperor, Rudolf von Habsburg, who married his daughter to the son of Charles d'Anjou, and who was the tool of the pope and of the French monarch. The German muse alone mourned the fall of the great Swabian dynasty. Conradin and Frederick were buried side by side to the right of the altar, beneath the marble pavement of the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, in the market-place of Naples, where the execution took place. About a century and a half ago the pavement of the church was renewed, and Conradin was found with his head resting on his folded hands. The remains were left in their original state. The (modern) inscription on the tomb runs thus. Qui giacciono Corradino di Stoeffen, ultimo de' duchi dell' imperiale casa di Svevi, e Federico d'Asburgh, ultimo de' Duchi d'Austria, Anno 1269. The raiser of this monument must have possessed more piety than knowledge when he made the luckless Frederick the last of the Habsburgs.

ransom for his life, devoted the money to the erection of the monastery of Stams, in a wild valley of the Tyrol. Charles's next work was the destruction of Luceria, where every Moor was put to the sword. Conrad, a son of Frederick of Antioch,¹ a natural descendant of Frederick II., alone escaped death. A contrary fate awaited Henry, the youthful son of the emperor Richard, the kinsman and heir of the Hohenstaufen, who, when tarrying by chance at Viterbo on his way to the Holy Land, was, by Charles's command, assassinated in 1274.² The unfortunate king Enzo was also implicated in Conradin's fate. On learning his nephew's arrival in Italy, he was seized with the greatest anxiety to escape from Bologna, where he was imprisoned, and concealing himself in a cask, was carried by his friends out of his prison, but being discovered by one of his long fair locks which fell out of the mouth of the cask, he was strictly confined, some say, in an iron cage, until his death, which happened in 1272. During the earlier part of his imprisonment, when less strictly treated, his seclusion, embellished by poetry and art, had been cheered by the society of his beautiful mistress, Lucia Viadagola. From these lovers descended the family of the Bentivoglio, who derived their name from Lucia's tender expression: "Enzio, che ben ti voglio."

Thus terminated the royal race of the Hohenstaufen, in which the highest earthly dignity and power, the most brilliant achievements in arms, extraordinary personal beauty, and rich poetical genius, were combined, and beneath whose rule, the middle age and its creations, the church, the empire, the states, religion, and art, attained a height, whence they necessarily sank as the Hohenstaufen fell, like flowers that fade at parting day.

¹ A daughter of this prince, Isolda, married Berthold von Hohenburg, probably the Minnesinger, who comes directly after the princes in Maness's collection.

² His sorrowing father exposed his heart to public view on the Thames bridge in London. — Dante mentions this circumstance in the twelfth canto of the *Inferno*:

Mostrocci un' ombra dall' un canto sola,
Dicendo: Colui fesse in grembo a Dio .
Lo cuor che'n su Tamigi ancor si cola.

Charles d'Anjou retained Apulia, but was deprived of Sicily. In the night of the 30th of March, 1282, a general conspiracy among the Ghibellines in this island broke out, and in this night, known as the Sicilian Vespers, all the French were assassinated, and Manfred's daughter, Constance, and her husband, Peter of Aragon, were proclaimed the sovereigns of Sicily. Charles, the son of Charles d'Anjou, was taken prisoner, and afterward exchanged for Beatrice, the sister of Constance. Constance behaved with great generosity to the captive prince, who, saying that he was happy to die on a Friday, the day on which Christ suffered, she replied, "For love of Him who suffered on this day will I grant thee thy life."

It is remarkable that about this time the crusades ended, and all the European conquests in the East were lost. Constantinople was delivered in 1261, by the Greeks, from the bad government of the French Pullanes, and, in 1262, Antioch was retaken by the Turks. The last crusade was undertaken in 1269, by Louis of France, Charles d'Anjou, and Edward, Prince of Wales, who were joined by a Friscian fleet, which ought to have been equipped instead in Conrad's aid. After besieging Tunis and enforcing a tribute, the French returned home. The English reached the Holy Land in 1272, but met with such ill success that Tripolis was lost in 1288, and Acon in 1291. On the reduction of these cities, the last strongholds of the Christians, Tyre voluntarily surrendered and Palestine was entirely deserted by the Franks.¹

CLXI. *The Interregnum*

THE triumph of the pope over the emperor was complete; but the temporal power of which the emperor had been deprived, instead of falling wholly into the hands of his antagonist, was scattered among the princes and cities of the empire, and, although the loss of the emperor had deprived the

¹ The common denomination in the East for all the Western nations.

empire of her head, vitality still remained in her different members.

The powers of the Welfs had ceased a century before the fall of the Hohenstaufen. The princes that remained possessed but mediocre authority, no ambition beyond the concentration of their petty states and the attainment of individual independence. The limited nature of this policy attracted little attention and insured its success. Equally indifferent to the downfall of the Hohenstaufen and to the creation of the mock sovereigns placed over them by the pope, they merely sought the advancement of their petty interests, by the usurpation of every prerogative hitherto enjoyed by the crown within their states; and thus transformed the empire, which had, up to this period, been an elective monarchy, into a ducal aristocracy. Unsatisfied with releasing themselves from their allegiance to their sovereign, they also strove, aided by their feudal vassals and by the clergy, to crush civil liberty by carrying on, as will hereafter be seen, a disastrous warfare against the cities, in which they were warmly supported by the pope, whom they had assisted in exterminating the imperial house. The power they individually possessed was, moreover, too insignificant to rouse the jealousy of the pontiff, whom they basely courted and implicitly obeyed. The people, meanwhile (at least those among the citizens and knights who still ventured freely to express their opinions), bitterly lamented the dissolution of the empire, its internal anarchy, the arbitrary rule of the princes, their utter disregard of order, public security, and national right, and loudly demanded the election of a successor to the imperial throne.¹

Ottocar of Bohemia, who took advantage of the universal anarchy to extend the limits of his Slavonian state, was the only one among the princes who strove to raise himself above the rest of the aristocracy. The Austrian nobility, sending Ulrich von Lichtenstein to Henry of Misnia, in order to offer

¹ The spirit of these times is preserved in Rudtger Maness's collection of the *Minnesingers*.

him the country, he was bribed when passing through Prague by Ottocar, who found means to induce the Austrians to elect him instead, and, in order to exclude all other competitors, espoused Margaretha, the eldest and now aged sister of Frederick the Warlike, who left her convent in Treves to perform this sacrifice for her country. Ottocar then marched in aid of the Poles and of the German Hospitalers against the Prussians and Lithuanians. On his return in 1254, on arriving at Breslau, he threw the flower of the Austrian nobility, whose allegiance he mistrusted, Ulrich von Lichtenstein not excepted, into chains, carried them prisoners into Bohemia, and confiscated all their lands. Louis and Henry of Bavaria, whose father, Otto, had been formerly nominated to the government of Austria by the emperor Frederick II., influenced by hatred of their dangerous and despotic neighbor, and being, moreover, aided by the archbishop Ulrich of Salzburg, raised a faction against and fortunately defeated him at Muhldorf, where a bridge gave way beneath the rush of the Bohemians, three thousand of whom were drowned, in 1255. Ottocar, in order to protect his rear, had ceded Styria to Bela, king of Hungary. Gertrude, Margaretha's younger sister and the widow of Hermann of Baden, had fled for protection to the Hungarian monarch, to whom she had, in her infant son's name, transferred her claim upon Austria, in return for which Bela had procured her a second husband, Roman, a Russian duke, by whom she was speedily abandoned. The Styrians vainly opposed the monarch thus forced upon them; they were overpowered; fifteen hundred men, who had taken refuge within the church at Mödling, were burned to death. The cruelty subsequently practiced by the Hungarian governor, Stephen von Agram, occasioned a fresh insurrection in 1254; so close was the pursuit of the enraged natives that the obnoxious governor merely escaped by swimming across the Drave; the attempt of the gallant Styrians to regain their freedom proved vain; all aid was refused by Ottocar, and they again fell beneath the Hungarian yoke and the iron rod of their

ferocious governor. Four years later, Ottocar commenced a brilliant career. In 1258, the Styrians again rebelled, and in eleven days drove every Hungarian out of the country,¹ upon which Ottocar dispatched to their aid Conrad von Hardegg, an old Austrian noble, who fell valiantly opposing the superior forces of the foe on the river March, and, in 1259, took the field in person at the head of his whole forces, and entirely routed the Hungarians in a pitched battle at Croisenbrunn. Styria was replaced beneath his rule, in 1260, and in the ensuing year peace was further confirmed by his marriage with Cunigunda, Bela's wayward niece, for whom he divorced the hapless Margaretha. This divorce was no sooner effected than the Austrians, deeming his right of inheritance annulled, attempted to free themselves from his tyranny; resistance was, however, vain; the malcontents were thrown into prison, and, as an example to all future offenders, Otto of Misnia, the judge of the country, was burned alive in a dungeon filled with straw. Ottocar's power was still further increased by the possession of Carinthia, which was bequeathed to him by Ulrich von Ortenburg, who expired, in 1263, leaving no issue. The opposition of Ulrich's brother, Philip, the patriarch of Aglar, and of Ulrich of Salzburg, was unavailing. They were defeated, and the whole of the mountain country was annexed to Bohemia.

Silesia had been partitioned between the sons of the patriotic duke, Henry, who fell on the field of Wahlstatt. A quarrel subsequently arose between them, and Boleslaw, on attempting to make himself sole master of the country, was reduced to submission by his brother, Henry of Breslau, the celebrated Minnesinger. Boleslaw was also so passionately fond of singing and of music that he was always accompanied by Surrian, his fiddler, who, during his master's wan-

¹ The arms of Steyer or Styria are a Steer:

“Es geiberet, wie der Stier Hörner treibt, ihm selber Waffen,
 Steyr kann steuern seinem Feind und den Zorn mit Zorne strafen.”
 — Fugger.

derings, sat behind him on horseback. Silesia, notwithstanding the numerous German colonists settled by Henry in the country devastated by the Tartar war, was ruined by the repeated partitions between the sons and grandsons of her dukes, and by their consequent feuds. One instance will suffice to give an idea of the disastrous and disturbed state of this wretched country. Henry the Thick, the son of Boleslaw, was imprisoned by his cousin Conrad von Glogau for six months in a narrow cage, in which he could neither sit upright nor lie at full length. Wladislaw von Leignitz, the son of Henry the Thick, was a wild and lawless wretch, who led a robber's life in his castle of Hornsberg, near Waldenburg, and was finally taken captive by the outraged peasantry. The Germanization of Brandenburg advanced. Since the partition of the bishopric of Lebus, in 1252, between Brandenburg and Magdeburg, the city of Frankfort on the Oder had been made by the former the center of German civilization, and peopled with German settlers. Whenever the German nobility took possession of a village, the Slavonian peasantry obstinately resisted every innovation. Several villages were, in consequence, sold to German citizens and peasants, under condition of their being peopled with Germans, in which case the purchaser became the hereditary mayor of the free community.¹ In 1269, the Margrave, Otto, erected on the Polish frontier the wooden castle of Zielenzig, exactly opposite to which Boleslaw of Poland instantly built the fortress of Meseritz. Magdeburg ceded her part of the bishopric of Lebus to Brandenburg, but merely as a fief dependent on the archbishopric.

Upon the death of Henry Raspe in Thuringia, Sophia, the daughter of St. Elisabeth, and widow of Henry, duke of Brabant, brought her infant son, Henry, to Marburg, where fealty was sworn to the "child of Brabant," the descendant of the great and beloved national saint. The Wartburg and the protection of the country were intrusted by Sophia to her

¹ Wohlbrück's History of Lebus.

neighbor the Margrave Henry, surnamed the Illustrious, of Misnia, who proved faithless to his trust, and attempted to make himself master of the country, which he also induced the mean-spirited emperor, William, to claim as a lapsed fief. Sophia hastened into the country on receiving information of his treason. The gates of the city Eisenach, which had already paid homage to Henry of Misnia, being closed against her, she seized an ax, and with her own hand dealt a vigorous blow upon the gate, which was instantly opened by the astonished citizens. Negotiations were opened between the contending parties; Henry of Misnia deceitfully proposed that the matter should be left to the decision of twenty Thuringian nobles of high standing, and that Sophia should promise to cede Thuringia to him, if they swore that his claim was more just than hers. Sophia fell into the snare, and the perjured nobles took the oath. On hearing their decision the injured duchess threw her glove into the air, exclaiming, "O thou enemy of all justice, thou devil, take the glove with the false counselors!" According to Imhof's chronicle, the glove vanished in the air. Sophia now implored the aid of the warlike duke of Brunswick Albrecht the Fat, who invaded Thuringia (1256) and defeated Henry of Misnia; but Gerhard, archbishop of Mayence, creating a diversion in Henry's favor by invading Brunswick during his absence, he was compelled to retrace his steps, upon which Henry of Misnia re-entered the country and captured Eisenach, where he condemned the gallant counselor, Henry von Velsbach, who had watched over Sophia's interests in that city, to be cast by an enormous catapult from the top of the Wartburg into the town below.¹ The feud was meanwhile vigorously carried on. Albrecht returned, and conquered the whole of Thuringia; his horrid cruelty occasioned an insurrection, which was headed by the aged Rudolf von Vargula, and Albrecht was surprised when

¹ He is said to have been cast down three times; twice he escaped with his life, but the third time was killed, exclaiming with his last breath, "Thuringia belongs to the child of Brabant!"

intoxicated on the Saal near Halle, and taken captive, in 1263. Peace ensued; Henry of Misnia retained Thuringia, and Henry of Brabant, the founder of the still reigning house of Hesse, was forced to content himself with Hesse, Brabant falling to his nephew John.

Before the commencement of this war, a contest had arisen between Albrecht and his nobles, who were at that period as rebellious against their dukes as the dukes were against the emperor. Busso von der Asseburg, who bore in his escutcheon a wolf with the Welfic lion in his claws, formed a conspiracy among the nobles against the Welfs, in which Gerhard, archbishop of Mayence, joined. Albrecht was, however, victorious, Gerhard was taken captive, and Conrad von Everstein, one of the conspirators, hanged by the feet, 1258. In the bishopric of Wurzburg, the noble family of Stein zum Altenstein attained great power, and excited the jealousy of the bishop, Henning, who invited them to a banquet, where they were all, except one—who, drawing his sword, cut off the bishop's nose and escaped—deprived of their heads. The ferocity of the nobles manifested itself also in 1257, during a great tournament held at Neuss, where the mock fight became earnest, and Count Adolf von Berg, thirty-six knights, and three hundred men at arms, were slain. In 1277, the robber knights took the frontier count, Engelbert, captive, and he pined to death in prison. Berold, abbot of Fulda, was also murdered in 1271, by his vassals, while reading mass; thirty of the conspirators were, however, executed. The citizens of Erfurt endured several severe conflicts with Sigmund (surnamed the Thuringian devil), Count von Gleichen, the son of the crusader of that name celebrated for his two wives.

The power of the princes in Germany was counterpoised by that of the cities, which, sensible of their inability individually to assert their liberty, endangered by the absence and subsequent ruin of the emperor, had mutually entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. The cities on the Northern Ocean and the Baltic vied with those of Lombardy

in denseness of population, and in the assertion of their independence. Their fleet returned from the East covered with glory. They conquered Lisbon, besieged Accon and Damietta, founded the order of German Hospitalers, and gained great part of Livonia and Prussia. A strict union existed among their numerous merchants. Every city possessed a corporation, or guild, consisting, according to the custom of the times, of masters, partners, and apprentices. These guilds were armed, and formed the chief strength of the city. Ghent and Brugges were the first cities in Flanders which became noted for their civil privileges, their manufactures, commerce and industry. In the twelfth century, they had already formed a *Hansa*,¹ or great commercial association, in which seventeen cities took part. In the thirteenth century, their example was followed by the commercial towns on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Baltic, but on a larger scale, the new *Hansa* forming a political as well as a commercial association, which was commenced by Lubeck, between which and Hamburg a treaty was made, 1241, in which Bremen and almost every city in the north of Germany far inland, as far as Cologne and Brunswick, joined. The most distinguished character of these times was a citizen of Lubeck named Alexander von Soltwedel, the indefatigable adversary of the Danes, who, besides assisting in gaining the victory near Bornhövede in 1227, performed still more signal services at sea. He several times went in pursuit of Erich IV. of Denmark, who incessantly harassed the northern coasts, with the Lubeck fleet; plundered Copenhagen, or, as Ditmar writes it, Copmanhaven; burned Stralsund, at that time a Danish settlement, to the ground, and returned home laden with immense booty. John, earl of Holstein, was taken prisoner by the citizens of Lubeck, whom he had provoked (1261). The citizens of Bremen pulled down the custom-houses erected by the archbishop and asserted their independence in 1246.

¹ *Hansa* signified every association, the members of which paid a contribution.

A similar league, though more for the purpose of mutual protection, was formed between the cities of the Rhine, almost all of which favored the imperial cause, and, by having on more than one occasion taken part with the Hohenstaufen against the bishops and the pretenders to the crown, had incurred the animosity of the great vassals, with whom they had to sustain several severe contests. In 1291, the ancient town of Metz carried on a spirited contest against the bishop, and subsequently united with Strasburg and other neighboring cities against the pope's stanch adherents, the Dukes Matthæus and Frederick of Lothringia. In 1263, the citizens of Strasburg expelled their despotic bishop, Walter von Geroldseck, and destroyed all the houses belonging to the clergy and nobility. Count Rudolf von Habsburg at first aided the bishop, but afterward, on the retention of a bond by Walter's successor, Henry, sided with the citizens, not because, as modern sentimentalists imagine, he was the friend of popular liberty, but from an entirely selfish motive. RösseImann, mayor of Colmar, whom the bishop had expelled, re-entered Colmar in a wine cask, incited the citizens to open sedition, and opened the gates to the Habsburg. The citizens afterward gained, unassisted, a complete victory over the bishop at Eckwersheim. A feud broke out subsequently between Rudolf and the city of Basel on occasion of a tournament, during which the nobles, attempting to insnare the pretty daughters of the citizens, were driven with broken heads out of the city in 1267.

The civil disturbances that took place in Cologne are most worthy of remark. The archbishop, Conrad von Hochstetten (since 1237), made the dissension between the pope and the emperor conduce to his own aggrandizement, by supporting himself on the authority of the former. His first great feud with Simon, bishop of Paderborn and Osnabruck, and the dukes of Saxony, was chiefly carried on in his name by the frontier count, Engelbert, who gained a signal victory on the Wulfrich near Dortmund in 1254. This archbishop afterward attempted to deprive the cities of their privileges.

His first attack was directed against Aix-la-Chapelle, as the weakest point; but this city had been placed by the emperor under the protection of Guillaume, Comte de Juliers, by whom the archbishop was defeated and taken prisoner; his first act, on regaining his liberty, was to take advantage of the emperor's absence in Italy, in order to encroach upon the privileges of the citizens of Cologne by striking a new coinage, which the citizens protesting against, he fled to Bonn, where he threw up fortifications. His siege of Cologne, during which he attempted to bombard the city by casting immense stones across the Rhine from Deutz, was unsuccessful, and a reconciliation took place. It was in the presence of the newly-elected emperor, William of Holland, that Conrad laid the foundation-stone to the great cathedral of Cologne. Unable to reduce the city beneath his authority by force, Conrad had recourse to stratagem, and incited the guilds of mechanics, particularly the weavers (there were not less than thirty thousand looms in the city), against the great burgher families, who were expelled in 1258. Conrad shortly afterward died, and was succeeded by Engelbert von Falkenberg in 1261, who pursued the system of his predecessor, seized the city keys, fortified the towers of Beyen and Ryle, and surrounded the whole city with watch-towers, which he garrisoned with his mercenaries, and, relying upon his power, began to lay the city under contribution. One of the citizens, Eberhard von Buttermarkt, roused to indignation by this insolence, exhorted the people to conciliate the burgher families, the guardians of the ancient liberties of Cologne and the promoters of her glory, and to unite against their common enemy, the archbishop. The burgher families were consequently recalled, and Mathias Overstolz, placing himself at their head, stormed the archbishop's watch-towers and freed the city (1262). Engelbert made a feigned submission, but subsequently retreated to Rome, whence he placed the city under an interdict. On his return, he was anticipated, in an attempt to take Cologne by surprise, by the citizens, who seized his person. On his

restoration to liberty, he had recourse to his former artifice, and again attempted to incite the weavers against the burgesses; this time, however, the latter were prepared for the event, and being, moreover, favored by the disinclination of the rest of the citizens to espouse the archbishop's quarrel, easily overcame their antagonists. Engelbert was more successful in his next plan, that of creating dissension among the burgesses themselves, by exciting the jealousy of the family of Weissen against the more prosperous and superior one of the Overstolze. The heads of the family of Weissen, Louis and Gottschalk, fell in battle, the rest fled; but a hole being made in the wall during the night by one of their partisans, named Habenichts (Lackall), they again penetrated into the city. Old Mathias Overstolz was killed in the fight that took place in the streets, whence his party succeeded in repelling the assailants. After this unnecessary bloodshed, the city factions discovered that they were merely the archbishop's tools, and a reconciliation took place. Aix-la-Chapelle, equally harassed by Engelbert, who also possessed that bishopric, placed herself under the protection of Guillaume, Comte de Juliers, and of Otto, Earl of Guelders. A bloody feud ensued. Engelbert was taken prisoner in the battle of Lechenich and shut up in an iron cage, and the Comte de Juliers, attempting to rule despotically over Aix-la-Chapelle, fell, together with his three sons, beneath the axes of the butchers in 1267. Disturbances broke out in Liege in 1277. The bishop, Henry, erected a fortification in the city, reduced the citizens to slavery, and led the most profligate life. He was deposed, but getting his successor, John, who was a very corpulent man, into his power, had him bound with ropes on a horse and trotted to death. Henry was at length assassinated by the citizens. These disputes between the citizens and the bishop were of common occurrence in almost every city. The inhabitants of Hameln were unsuccessful in their contest with the bishop of Minden, to whom, in 1259, the patronage of the city had been resigned by the abbot of Fulda. The Count von Everstein, the city patron,

and the citizens opposed the bishop, but were defeated, and several of them taken prisoners. In 1252, the citizens of Leipzig destroyed the Zwingburg, the fastness of the despotic abbot of St. Augustin; those of Halle protected the Jews, in 1261, against the archbishop, Ruprecht von Magdeburg, by whom they were persecuted; those of Wurzburg compelled the bishop, Tring (1265), to raise the interdict laid upon them, and defeated his successor, Berthold, in a pitched battle at Kitzingen in 1269. The citizens of Augsburg also defeated their bishop, Hartmann, on the Hamelberg.

These examples show the spirit then reigning in the cities which, more particularly in Swabia and Franconia, were incessantly at open enmity with the petty nobility (whose numbers were greatly increased by the subdivision that took place within these two duchies), sometimes on account of the numerous Pfahlbürger or enfranchised citizens, peasants who enrolled themselves among the citizens in order to escape from the tyranny of the petty lords; sometimes on account of the merchants, who were either pillaged by the noble knights, or allowed a safe passage on payment of a heavy toll. The tolls on the Rhine and the Neckar formed a perpetual subject of dispute. The ruins of the fastnesses with which these robber knights crowned the heights on the banks of these rivers, and whence they waylaid the traveling merchants, still stand, picturesque memorials of those wild and lawless times. The cities of Swabia, particularly Reutlingen and Esslingen, carried on a lengthy contest with Ulrich, count of Wurtemberg, the bitterest enemy and the destroyer of cities, whose example on the Neckar was followed by the nobles on the Rhine. The exaction of a fresh and heavy toll on passing the Rheinfels, by Count Diether von Katzenellenbogen, gave rise to the Rhenish league, to which the first impulse was given by Arnold de Turri (of the Thurm, tower), a citizen of Mayence, against the exactions and robberies of the nobles in 1247. The confederation, which at first solely consisted of Mayence, Worms, Spires, Basel, and

Strasburg, was renewed after the death of Conrad IV. in 1255, and was shortly swelled by sixty of the Rhenish and Swabian towns. In 1271, it had gained great strength, and a considerable number of the fastnesses of the robber knights were destroyed, but it never attained the note enjoyed by the great northern Hansa.

The hopes of Germany, which lay, as it were, buried in the tomb of the last of the Hohenstaufen, revived with the maintenance of civil rights by the cities, and a glorious prospect of civil liberty and of common weal opened to view.

PART XII

SUMMIT OF THE MIDDLE AGES

CLXII. *The Hierarchy*

THE spirit of religion, originally mild and lowly, had, at the period of which we treat, gradually assumed a character of fervid devotion and extravagant enthusiasm. The zealots of the times sought to realize a heaven upon earth, where God was to be represented by his vicegerent the pope, the angels by the immaculate priesthood, and heaven itself by the church, to which those whose lives were not entirely devoted to the service of God, the laity, mere dwellers on the outskirts of heaven, were to be subordinate.

The layman, the emperor, and the empire were thus to be subordinate to the priest, the pope, and the church, and the whole world was to be governed by a great theocracy, of which the pope was the head. The *Sachsenspiegel*, or Saxon code, says: "God sent two swords on earth for the protection of Christendom, and gave to the pope the spiritual, to the emperor the temporal one": the *Schwabenspiegel*, which was shortly afterward compiled in order to suit the

schemes of the church of Rome, altered the sense thus: "God, now the Prince of Peace, left two swords here upon earth, on his ascension into heaven, for the protection of Christendom, both of which he consigned to St. Peter, one for temporal, the other for spiritual rule. The temporal sword is lent by the pope to the emperor. The spiritual sword is held by the pope himself."

The subordination of all the princes of the world to a higher power, and the combination of all the nations of the earth into one vast and universal community, was in truth a grand and sublime idea; but, unfortunately for its realization, the ecclesiastical shepherds allowed too much of earthly passion and of sordid interest to cling to them in their elevated and almost superhuman position, and gave an undue preponderance to the Italians in the universal community of nations, in which men were to regard each other as the children of the God of peace and love, in whose presence strife was to cease. That mutual concord is productive of mutual benefit has long been a received truth. The long-lost vigor restored by the German conqueror to ancient Rome was repaid by the acquisition of learning, and of the knowledge and love of art, for which Germany owes, and ever must owe, a heavy debt of gratitude to Italy, and especially to the church of Rome; even the deterioration of German nationality by the preponderance of that of Rome may be viewed as the inevitable result of this universal and historical fact. The national rights of Germany nevertheless must not, as too often has been the case, be set aside, nor their violation be forgotten.

The Roman pontiff solely attained his gigantic power by undermining the German empire; and the success attending his schemes, far from being the result of the power of mind over matter, or of the superiority of the Italian over the German nation, may be chiefly ascribed to the treason of the great vassals of the crown, who, at first unable to assert their independence, willingly confederated with the pope, whom they regarded as a half-independent sovereign, whose

power as the head of the nations of Italy might serve to counterpoise that of the emperor, and countenanced the dismemberment of Lombardy from the empire, the seizure of Lower Italy and of the Burgundian Arelat by the French, and the sole election of French or Italian popes. Italy could never have gained this novel preponderance without the aid of the princes of Germany. The election of German popes had been upheld by the emperors. If the ancient Roman empire had been overthrown by Germans; if their victories over the Moors, the Hungarians, and the Slavonians had saved Christendom from ruin, and the whole heart of Europe was undeniably their own, why then should not Germany also preponderate in the church, and the pope be a German by birth? The Germanization of the church would have been effected by the emperors had they not been abandoned and betrayed by the princes of the empire. It has been objected that the sovereignty and tyranny of the emperor would have been a worse evil, and that the church of Rome would have been reduced in Germany to the state in which she now is in Russia; a consolatory reflection, founded upon an utter misapprehension of the national feeling throughout Germany. Had the unity of the empire and its external power been preserved under the emperor, civil and mental liberty would, in all probability, have reached a much higher pitch than they possibly could under a polygarchy influenced by the inimical and malicious foreigner.

By the destruction of the Hohenstaufen, the popes, at the head of the Italians, gained a complete victory over the emperors, who until now had been at the head of the nations of Germany, but the means of which they made use in the pursuance of their schemes were exactly contrary to the tenets of the religion they professed to teach, nor was their vocation as vicegerents of Christ upon earth at all compatible with the policy by means of which, leagued with France, they pursued their plans in Italy, and continually injured, harassed, and degraded the Germans as a nation. For this purely political and national purpose, means were continually made

use of so glaringly unjust and criminal that the measure of offense was at length complete, and called forth that fearful reaction of German nationality known as the Reformation. From the eleventh to the sixteenth century, it was the policy of Rome, as, since that period, it has ever been that of France, to weaken, to disunite, and to subdue Germany.

The remainder of the princes of Christendom were, after the fall of the German emperors, either too weak still to oppose the pope, or entered into alliance with, and supported him; as, for instance, the French monarch, whom he treated on that account with a condescension never practiced by him toward an emperor of Germany.

The power of the pope over the church was absolute. His authority over the councils, which he convoked at pleasure, was uncontrolled. The canons (*canones*), or public decrees, were drawn up under his direction in the general council, and his private decrees, drawn up without its assistance, such as *decretalia*, *bullæ et brevia*, were of equal weight. The whole of these laws formed the body of the canon or ecclesiastical law (*corpus juris canonici S. ecclesiastici*). The first collection of Gratian, which, in 1151, had been opposed as the new Roman law to the resuscitated old civil Roman law made use of by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa for the confirmation of his power, was, in 1234, completed and ratified by the pope, Gregory IX. In order to limit the power of the archbishops, which threatened to endanger his authority, the pope gradually withdrew the bishops from beneath their jurisdiction, and rendered them, as well as the monkish orders, solely dependent upon the pontifical chair. His next step was to give unlimited extension to the right of appeal from the lower courts to Rome, and, consequently, exemption or freedom from all other jurisdiction except that of the pope. Multitudes now poured into Rome with demands for justice, and the legates, for still greater convenience, traveled into every country and administered justice in the name of the pope. The appointment to ecclesiastical offices depended on him alone. The exclu-

sion of the imperial vote had been gained in the great dispute concerning right of investiture. The power of the chapters was limited by papal reservations. At first the pope asserted his right to induct, independently of the episcopal chapters, successors to those bishops who died within a circle of two days' journey round Rome; an event of very frequent occurrence, Rome, on account of the right of appeal, being always filled with foreign clergy, and no bishop being confirmed in his dignity unless he appeared there in person. Before long the reservation was extended, and the pope decreed that on him alone depended the nomination to all ecclesiastical dignities that fell vacant during certain months, and finally asserted his right of removing or deposing the bishops, and of founding and of holding the nomination to new benefices. The pope, moreover, created since the crusades, titular or suffragan bishops, possessed of no real bishoprics, but bearing the title of one in the Holy Land (in partibus infidelium), that had to be conquered before they could be installed. These titular bishops were assisted by real bishops, who, in fact, acted as papal overseers.—The pope also possessed the right, as the monarch of the Christian world, of taxing the whole of Christendom. The taxes were partly direct, partly indirect. The former were styled annates or yearly allowances, and were merely levied upon the church, the laity contributing richly enough in other ways. Since the twelfth century, it had been the custom to pay a portion of the income of each ecclesiastical office to the pope, who, before long, claimed the whole income of the first year of installation. The indirect taxes were far more numerous. Both priests and laymen were taxed for the crusades and other pious purposes. The chattels of the bishops and abbots, which, on their decease, formerly fell to the emperor, were now inherited by the pope. Simony, so heavily visited upon laymen by the pontiff, was now practiced by himself, and the sale of ecclesiastical dignities to the highest bidder was by no means of rare occurrence.

The most terrible weapons wielded by the pope were the ecclesiastical punishments in three classes: excommunication, or simple exclusion from the church; the ban, by which the criminal was outlawed and his murder declared a duty; and the interdict, which prohibited the exercise of church service in the city or country in which the excommunicant dwelt.—These spiritual weapons were supported by an unlimited territorial possession, feudal right, an armed force, and an inexhaustible source of ever-increasing wealth. The pope was a temporal prince in the state of the church; the archbishops, bishops, and abbots in the empire were no less temporal princes in their dominions. The amount of the pontifical treasury was every century swelled by tithes, indulgences, and fines, by offerings to the saints, by the gifts of the pious or the penitent.

The external power of the church was, nevertheless, surpassed by its internal, moral power. Had this moral power remained untinged by the insolence resulting from unlimited rule, it would have become a blessing to every nation. But ordinances merely calculated to increase external authority were added to the simple tenets of the Christian religion. The most important of these new dogmas was the sanctity of celibacy, which, since the time of Gregory IV., had been imposed as a duty upon the priesthood, and which at once broke every tie between them and the rest of mankind. The practice of celibacy caused them to be regarded in the superstition of the times as beings of angelic purity. The ceremony of ordination, from which the vow of eternal chastity was inseparable, raised the consecrated priest above every earthly passion, and bestowed upon him the power of holding direct intercourse with the Deity, while the layman could only hold indirect intercourse with him by means of the priest. In order to strengthen this belief, the mass, during which the priest holds up the Deity to the view of the layman, and confession, in which the layman receives remission of his sins in the name of God from the priest, were greatly increased in importance and signification. During

the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the chalice was at first withdrawn from the lower and plebeian classes, and, before long, from all laymen, and the priests alone were declared worthy of partaking of it. Thus was the equality of all mankind in the sight of God, as announced by the Saviour of the world, destroyed. The study of the Bible was, for similar purposes, also prohibited to all laymen.

External worship, the Roman liturgy, the solemnization of church festivals, were amplified. Innumerable new saints appeared, all of whom required veneration, particular churches, chapels, festivals, and prayers. The number of relics to which pilgrimages were made, consequently, also increased.¹ Penances multiplied, among others, the fasts, at first so simple. Then came the ceremonies. The poetical feeling of the age, the idleness of the monks, and even the jealousy between their various orders, demanded variety.² Innumerable particular festivals, processions, religious exhibitions, which often degenerated to the most extravagant popular amusements, were instituted and varied according to the customs of different countries, or according to the peculiar history of the saint. Thus, for instance, the ass on which Christ entered Jerusalem gave occasion to an ass's festival; the long fast, terminating with Easter, was prepared for by the most frantic gayety, the present carnival, as if to wear out old sins by giving vent to them. Prayer was, on the other hand, as greatly simplified, and the rosary, which assisted the repetition of the same prayer by counting with the fingers, was introduced.

The dogma most important in its results was the remission of sins, or absolution. No one by repentance could find

¹ One of the most extraordinary pilgrimages was founded by Frederick, archbishop of Treves, A.D. 1273, to the grave of St. Willibrod at Epternach, where a general dance in her honor was performed by the pilgrims, who, linked together, made two steps forward, one backward, and then zigzagged off to the right and left. This custom was kept up until very lately.

² Juliana, a nun at Liege, having, in 1230, seen the full moon with a piece out of it in a vision, and being told by a voice from heaven that this signified the want of another great church festival, Urban IV. instituted that of Corpus Christi.

grace before God unless first declared free from sin by the priest, and absolution, at first solely obtained by severe personal penance, was ere long much oftener purchased with money; and in order to implant the necessity of absolution more deeply in the minds of the people, the power of Satan, eternal torments in hell, and the pains suffered in purgatory until absolution had been obtained from some priest on earth, were forcibly depicted.—Still, notwithstanding the mischievous and bad tendency of these abuses, the enormous number of pious institutions and donations by which the church was enriched afford a touching proof of the disposition of the people, who disinterestedly sacrificed their worldly wealth for the salvation of the dead, for parents, husbands, wives, and children. Thus did the church, for its ambitious purposes, abuse man's purer and gentler feelings.

The childlike belief in the direct intercourse between the visible and invisible world, and that of men with God, was the source of the deep poetical feeling and enthusiasm that characterize these times; and the popular respect for all that was or seemed to be holy, is the finest as well as the most striking trait of the Middle Ages.¹

Germany was, at that period, divided into the following ecclesiastical provinces: 1. The archbishopric of Treves, with the bishoprics of Toul, Verdun, Metz. 2. The archbishopric of Mayence, the bishoprics of Spire, Strasburg, Worms, Augsburg, Constance, Coire, Wurzburg, Eichstädt, Paderborn, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Verdun, Bamberg. 3. The archbishopric of Cologne, the bishoprics of Liege, Utrecht, Osnabruck, Munden, Munster. 4. The archbishopric of Salzburg, the bishoprics of Ratisbon, Freisingen, Passau, Brixen, Gurck, Chiemsee, Seckau, Lavant, Olmutz. 5. The archbishopric of Bremen, the bishoprics of Lubeck (Oldenburg), Schwerin (Mecklenburg), Ratzeburg, Camin, Schles-

¹ In 1465, the city of Berne, when the pyx with the holy of holies was stolen from the high altar in the cathedral, went into deep mourning on account of this proof of the anger of God. Gambling and luxury were abolished, splendor in apparel restricted, swearing severely punished, and the morals of the citizens thoroughly reformed.—*Wirz. History of Switzerland.*

wig. 6. The archbishopric of Magdeburg, the bishoprics of Zeiz (Naumburg), Merseburg, Misnia, Brandenburg, Lebus, Havelberg. 7. The archbishopric of Besançon, the bishoprics of Basel, Lausanne, Sion, Geneva. 8. The archbishopric of Prague, the bishoprics of Leutmeritz, Königsgrätz. To these were added: 9. The archbishopric of Riga, with the bishoprics of Ermeland, Culm, Pomesania, Samland, Reval, Dorpat, Oesel. The bishopric of Breslau was independent. In the Netherlands, the bishoprics of Cammerich (Cambray), Doornik (Tournay), and Arras, were under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Rheims. The bishopric of Trent belonged to the patriarchate of Aglar (Aquileia). The archbishoprics and bishoprics belonging to the empire in Italy and the Arelat had long been lost.

Monasteries and nunneries rapidly increased in number. The oldest and richest were canonries or prebends (similar to the episcopal chapters), generally sinecures for the nobility. Even in the common monasteries the harder work was committed to the lay-brothers (*fratres*), while the actual monks (*patres*) merely prayed and sang.¹ A reaction in the pride and laziness of monastic life was, however, produced by some pious men who reformed the Benedictine orders, and reintroduced the severest discipline and complete renunciation of the world, as the Carthusians, the Premonstratenses, the Cistercians, etc.,² and finally, the great begging orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans, of whom mention has already been made as the pope's most devoted servants, his spiritual mercenaries or church police, who watched over his interest in different countries. Before long a jealousy arose between these two numerous orders, and a dispute broke out among the Franciscans, some of whom wished to modify the severity of the rules of their

¹ In some of the largest and richest monasteries, which contained several hundred monks, the choir service was carried on for centuries incessantly by day and by night, the monks relieving each other by turns. This was the case at Corbey, in Westphalia, and at St. Maurice, in the Canton Vaud.

² The order of the Carmelites was founded during the crusades on Mount Carmel, where the prophet Elias formerly dwelt in seclusion.

order, and to alter the vow of poverty so as to enable them to become, not the possessors, but the managers of property, while others resolved to persevere in the practice of the most abject poverty, humility, and penance. The latter, thoroughly animated with the spirit of the first teachers of Christianity, endangered the pope, by openly and zealously preaching against the worldliness and luxury of the church, in consequence of which Innocent IV. decided against them and countenanced the opposite party in 1245. The Franciscans refused to obey, and became martyrs in the cause. The contest was of long duration. They wrote openly against the pope, often supported the emperor against the church, and although delivered up to their bitterest enemies, the Dominicans, by whom they were burned as heretics, their tenets continued to be upheld by some of the monks, and even influenced the universities.

At this period, German mysticism had already ceded to Italian scholasticism. The founder of this mysticism was, as has already been mentioned, the count and abbot, Hugh de St. Victoire. His Gothic system was grounded on the three original powers of the Deity, and their effect on the universe. The Godhead is triple, as Power, Wisdom, and Goodness; the universe is triple, as heaven, earth, and hell; the human soul is triple, in so far as it can freely revert to each of these three. In the chevaleresque spirit of the times, Hugh admonished men to bid defiance to the double spells of sense (hell), and of reason (earth), with eyes fixed in constant adoration on heaven; like the knight who, intent upon freeing his beloved, fights his way through enchanted forests guarded by monsters. The power by which he is enabled to defy danger and to rise superior to temptation being pure, spotless love.—Incited by this example, Honorius (Augustodunensis, of Augst, near Basel) set up another mystical system, in which he represented the struggle of the soul, not, like Hugo, as a courageous rejection of the world, but as a thorough comprehension of the universe. He compared the world to a harp, whose discords were all reducible to har-

mony; and maintained that, although God might have departed from his original unity in the hostile contrasts in the world, man, like a little god, possessed the power of regaining the sense of divine unity by a knowledge of the harmony of the universe.—Rupert von Duiz, on the other hand, sought for manifestations of the Divine essence not so much in nature as in time, in history. He beheld God the Father manifested in the ancient pagan times until the birth of Christ, God the Son in the Christian and present times, and believed that God the Holy Ghost would be manifested at a third and future period. Thus, Hugh imaged Divine power, Honorius Divine beauty, and Rupert applied both to daily life, drew heaven down to the earth, the eternal into the finite. The idea of Hugh coincided with Christian knighthood, that of Honorius with Christian art, that of Rupert with great historical advance in civilization by a transmutation of forms. The thoughts of these three men portray the spirit of their times.

These mystic philosophers flourished during the reign of Barbarossa, and were succeeded by another, Albert the Great, a Swabian nobleman of the house of Bollstädt, bishop of Ratisbon (1280), whose name shone brightly as the star of the Staufen fell. His mind, although enriched with all the learning of the age (by the ignorant he was suspected of magic), was deeply imbued with Italian scholasticism. Still, although he joined the Italian philosophers, and became a thorough papist, he was distinguished from the rest of the scholastics by being the first who again made nature his study. He also sought to explain the idea of God theologically, without reference to the ordinances of the church, but was weak enough to exercise his wit on this apparently open way of research for the mere purpose of attempting to prove that every papist dogma was both natural and necessary.—Among the papist zealots in the twelfth century was the oracle of the Guelphs, Geroch, provost at Reichersperg, the founder of Ultramontanism in Bavaria. He preached the destruction of all temporal kingdoms and the suprem-

acy of the pope. The luxury of the ecclesiastics and the stupidity and license of the monks, so glaringly opposed to the doctrines they professed, were, nevertheless, unsparingly ridiculed by the pen and pencil. Nigellus Wireker wrote, at the close of the twelfth century, a biting satire (*Brunellus, seu speculum stultorum*) against the monks. At a later period, the spirit of ridicule gained increased force, being not only tolerated but fostered in the court of the emperor Frederick II., and characterizes the songs of the Minnesingers.¹

The visions (*visiones, revelationes*) of ecstatic seers, dreamy images supposed to reveal the profoundest secrets of heavenly wisdom, formed the transition from mysticism to poetry. The first and most remarkable of these seers are St. Hildegarde of Bingen, and her sister Elisabeth, in the twelfth century; who were followed, in the thirteenth century, by St. Gertrude, and her sister Matilda, in Mansfeld; and in the Netherlands, by Maria von Ognis and Lydtwit. Cæsar von Heisterbach and Jordan wrote in general upon the visions of their times; and Henry von Klingenberg, a work upon the angels. The late discoveries in magnetism confirm the fact of these celebrated seers having been somnambulists. Highly-wrought poetical imagery pre-eminently distinguishes the visions of St. Hildegarde.

The Virgin Mary, the ideal of chastity and beauty, the model of piety for the women and the object of the ecstatic devotion of the men, formed the chief subject of the poetry of the times. The Latin work of the monk Potho glows with love and adoration; but the most valuable works of the age are the *Life of Mary*, and hymns in her praise, written in German in the twelfth century, by Wernher, Philip the Carthusian, Conrad von Wurzburg, Conrad von Hennesfurt, and by several anonymous authors; besides innumer-

¹ Art also exercised its wit. In the Strasburg cathedral there was a group in stone representing a boar carrying the holy water-pot and sprinkling-brush, a wolf the cross, a hare the taper, a pig and a goat a box of relics, in which lay a sleeping fox, and an ass reading mass, while a cat acted as reading desk.

able legends. Unlike the later legends distinguished for their wonders, repetitions, bad taste, boasting and flattery of many an ecclesiastical tyrant, of many a rich princess, who bequeathed their wealth to the church and were consequently canonized, those of this period are remarkable for their excellence, especially those in which a moral precept or a Christian tenet was artfully wound up with the history of a saint.¹ Most of the legends are written in Latin. Several of the German ones are in verse, that of St. Gregory by the celebrated poet Hartmann von Aue, that of St. George by Reinbot von Doren, that of St. Alexius by Conrad von Wurzburg, that of St. Elisabeth by Conrad von Marburg and John Rote, Barlaam and Josaphat by Rudolf von Hohenems, and several others. Among the German poems on the life of Christ, "The Crucified," by John von Falkenstein, is pre-eminent. Besides these there are a multitude of parables, prayers, hymns, and pious effusions by the Swabian Minnesingers, whose heroic poetry and amorous ditties are also pervaded by the fear and reverence of God distinctive of their times. Several excellent sermons written in the thirteenth century in the Swabian dialect, by Berthold von Regensburg (Ratisbon), are still extant. Rudolf von Hohenems translated the Bible, up to the death of Solomon, in verse, for Henry Raspe the Bad, and intermixed it with legends and historical accounts. The celebrated Chronicle of the Emperors is also similarly interwoven with numerous and extremely fine legends; also Enikel's Universal Chronicle.

¹ Those legends, for instance, are extremely beautiful in which the divine power of innocence is set forth, such as those of the childhood of Christ. Innocence struggling against and overcoming every earthly sorrow, as in the legend of the emperor Octavianus; its victory over earthly desires, as in that of St. Genoveva. The triumph of Christianity over paganism, of faith over worldly wisdom, is often the favorite subject, and is well described in the legend of St. Faustinianus. The fidelity with which the knight, conscious of his want of spiritual wisdom, serves the saint, is praised in that of St. Christopher. Faith and the force of will triumph over the temptations of the world in the legend of St. Antony. Faith and repentance snatch the sinner from the path of vice in that of St. Magdalene. And the victory of patient hope and faith over torture and death is recorded with boundless triumph in that of all the martyrs.

CLXIII. *Gothic Architecture*

ECCLESIASTICAL architecture took its rise from the Romans and Byzantines. After the crusades, and under the Hohenstaufen, a new style of architecture arose in Germany, far superior to the Byzantine in sublimity and beauty; the churches were built of a greater size, the towers became more lofty, lightness and beauty of form were studied, the pointed arch replaced the rounded one, and architecture was rendered altogether more symbolical in design. This new and thoroughly German style was denominated the Gothic.¹ This art was cultivated and exercised by a large civil corporation. At an earlier period every monastery had its working-monks (*operarii*), architect, sculptor, painter, musician; but, in the thirteenth century, the great guild of masons and stonemasons were formed in the cities, who adopted in the service of the church its mystical ideas, and eternalized them in their gigantic labors. Their secret was preserved in the guild as the heritage of its members, who enjoyed great privileges and were termed Freemasons, their art the royal one. In Upper Germany, for instance, at Ulm, this guild even ruled the city for some time, a circumstance that explains the existence of so many fine churches in that city, in all of which the same idea, the same rules, may be traced.

The churches were skillfully adorned with carved work, rich ornaments, pillars, and pictures, and built in such a manner as to echo and give the finest tone to music. At length the Germans acquired the grand idea of expressing the sublimity of the Deity by means of architectural designs;

¹ The word Gothic has no reference either to the ancient Goths, Gothic architecture having taken its rise under the Hohenstaufen, or to the Spaniards, it having been first introduced into Spain by the masters John and Simon of Cologne, by whom the cathedral at Burgos was erected. The term "Gothic" has a later and an Italian origin, the Italians applying it to German architecture to denote its barbarity.

and while the churches still served their former purpose, the rough masses of stone became fraught with meaning. The majestic edifices still stand to bear witness to the spirit to which they owed their rise. The buildings were to be lofty and large, striking the eye with wonder and filling the heart with the feeling of immensity, for the God to whom the temple is raised is great and sublime. The appearance of heaviness was to be carefully avoided, art was to be hidden and its creations to spring forth with the apparent ease of a plant from the soil, for faith in God is neither forced nor oppressive, but free, natural, and sublime. The building must be lofty, the columns and the pillars shoot like plants and trees upward toward the light, and terminate in high and pointed towers, for faith aspires to heaven. The altar must stand toward the East, whence came the Saviour. The chancel, the holy of holies, only trodden by the priest, must be separated from the aisle, where stood the people, for the priesthood is nearer than the people to the Deity. Finally, the sublimity of the whole edifice was to be veiled by rich and beauteous ornaments, the straight and abrupt lines were to be bent into a thousand elegant curves and degrees, manifold as the colors of the prism, while the massive edifice rose as if from blocks of living stone, for God is hidden in the universe, in nature and in endless variety. All these ornaments had also one principal form, as if the idea of the whole pervaded each minute particle. This form is the rose in the windows, doors, arches, pillar ornaments; and borne by it, or blossoming out of it, the cross. By the rose is signified the world, life; by the cross, faith and the Deity. A cross within the rose was in the Middle Ages the general symbol of the Deity.¹

¹ The sublimity of Gothic architecture was regulated by a scale according to law. All the archiepiscopal cathedrals had three towers, two in front and one over the high altar. All episcopal ones had two on the western side. All parish churches one in front, or where the aisle joins the chancel. All chapels of ease, merely a belfry. Among the monastic churches, those of the Benedictines had two towers, between the chancel and the aisle; those of the Cistercians, one over the high altar; those of the Carthusians, a very high tower

The building was the work of centuries. The plan devised by the bold genius of one man required unborn generations to complete, for the live-long toil of thousands and thousands of skillful hands was necessary to impress the hard stone with the master's thought. With genuine self-denial and freedom from a mania for improvement, artists of equal skill followed in spirit and in thought the first laid-down plan, and each in turn, ambitious for his work and not for a name, have, almost all, the inventor and the perfecter, remained utterly unknown. The cathedral of Cologne is, both in size and in idea, the greatest of these works of wonder. It was commenced in 1248; the chancel was finished in 1320. It is still in an unfinished state, none of its towers are completed, and yet it is the loftiest building in the world, and surpasses all as a work of art. Ranking next to it stands the Strasburg cathedral, begun in 1015; the plan of its celebrated tower was designed in 1276, by Erwin von Steinbach, and the tower itself at length completed in 1439, by John Hutz of Cologne. The other tower is still wanting. Among the other great works of this period may be enumerated the splendid churches of Freiburg in Breisgau, Ulm, Erfurt, Marburg, Wurzburg, Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Oppenheim, Esslingen, Wimpfen, Zanten, Metz, Frankfort, Tann, Naumburg, Halberstadt, Misnia, the St. Stephen's church at Vienna; at a later date, the stately edifices at Prague, and numerous fine churches in the Netherlands. The palaces of Barbarossa at Hagenau and Gelnhausen have long been destroyed, besides many churches, for instance, at Paulinzelle, etc. Many of the town-council houses, as well as many of the cathedrals, still retain their ancient beauty.

Among the other arts in the service of religion, those of the sculptor, the founder, and the carver, were early put into requisition in Germany for the adornment of the churches.

on the western side; those of the begging orders, merely a belfry, that of the Franciscans before, and that of the Capuchins over the door. The position of the altar to the east was the same in all churches. The Jesuit and Protestant churches, at a later period, aped the old Roman architecture, and introduced tasteless ornaments and irregularity.

Fine statues existed as early as the age of the Ottos; for instance, that of Otto I. at Magdeburg, and that in the church at Naumburg of the time of Otto III. In Germany sculpture never rose essentially above architecture in merit. The secret of the great effect produced by art in the Middle Ages was the accordance of every separate part with the whole, like the different organs of life, which, when united, expressed the idea no single part could represent, and produced a joint effect in which each art assisted the other. As the wondrous pile wholly consisted of sculptured materials, sculpture merely exerted its skill in shafts and decorations, while painted windows and frescoes gave light and coloring to each object, and the subject of each picture accorded with all around. Then the pile resounded and spoke like God from the clouds, from its lofty tower, or alternately sorrowed and rejoiced like man in the deep-swelling organ. The art of the founder and of the musician was devoted solely to the service of the church.

The worship of the saints encouraged that of images and pictures, which was at first violently opposed as heathenish and idolatrous; thus the people's natural sense of beauty saved art. The painting of profane subjects was also encouraged, as the picture of the battle of Merseburg, celebrated by contemporaries, proves. Painting also rose to greater perfection as architecture advanced. The fine old German paintings appeared after the crusades. The picture of the Saviour, or of the Virgin, or of a saint, ever adorned the high altar. All the subordinate pictures were to correspond with and refer to that over the altar, and to represent the actions, the miracles, or the symbols of the patron Deity of the church. All represented sacred objects, or what was holy by profane ones. For this reason they were, until the fifteenth century, always painted upon a golden ground, which signified the glory and brightness of religion. Their subjects, whether landscapes or figures, bear a character of repose, for the essence of holiness is calm, childlike simplicity, and the truth of nature. The first great school of painting

appeared in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at Cologne, and probably resulted from the connection between the Netherlands and Greece. Its most celebrated master, in the fourteenth century, was William of Cologne. A celebrated painter, Henry of Bavaria, flourished as early as the twelfth century; in the thirteenth, appeared Jacob Kern of Nuremberg; in the fourteenth a society of painters formed at Prague, having at its head Nicolas Wurmser, court painter to the emperor Charles IV. Painting on glass was afterward brought to great perfection. Oil painting was first introduced about this period. This art appears to have been principally practiced in the Netherlands, and more particularly in the city of Cologne, or, as it was called during the Middle Ages, the Holy City. The excellence and fame of the Cologne school remained unrivaled, and the works of William unsurpassed, until the commencement of the fifteenth century, when painting in oils was invented by a Dutchman, John van Eyk, the first master of the pure German school. A peculiar style of painting on parchment was practiced in manuscripts. Charlemagne possessed devotional books ornamented with pictures, and almost all the manuscripts, until quite the latter part of the Middle Ages, are filled with them. ✓

The churches were rendered still more imposing in various other ways, by the management of the light, the fumes of incense, the measured movements of the priests, the splendor of their attire, the sumptuous plate, etc. The solemn tones of the organ accompanied Latin hymns of deep and stirring import. Under the last of the Salic dynasty, Guido d'Arezzo had introduced harmony into music in Italy. During the reign of Barbarossa, Franco of Cologne improved the writing and the measure of music.

CLXIV. *The Emperor and the Empire*

ACCORDING to the idea of Charlemagne, the German emperor was to be the chief shepherd of the nations of Christendom, and to unite the separate races. The supremacy had,

however, been usurped by the pope, to whom the emperor and the rest of the sovereigns and princes of Europe were declared subordinate. In the empire itself the officers of the crown had become hereditary princes, and their support of the emperor depended entirely on their private inclination. The emperor grasped but a shadowy scepter, and the imperial dignity now solely owed its preservation to the ancestral power of the princely families to whom the crown had fallen. The choice of the powerful princes of the empire therefore fell purposely upon petty nobles, from whom they had nothing to fear; and even when the crown, by bribery and cunning, came into the possession of a great and princely house, the jealousy of the rest of the nobility had to be appeased by immense concessions, and thus, under every circumstance, the princes increased in wealth and power, while the emperor was gradually impoverished. Imperial investiture had become a mere form, which could not be refused except on certain occasions. The Pfalzgrafs, formerly intrusted with the management of the imperial allods, had seized them as hereditary fiefs. The customs, mines, and other royal dues had been mortgaged to the church, the princes, and the cities; the cities had made themselves independent of the imperial governor, and the free peasantry, at length, also lost the protection of the crown, and fell under the jurisdiction of the bishops and princes, who again strove to enslave them.

The most productive sources of the imperial revenue were presents in return for grants of privileges, for exemptions from certain duties, and the legitimation of bastards, or for the settlement of disputed inheritances, with which a disgraceful traffic was often made. Thus the dukes of Austria paid a certain sum of money to the emperor for investing them with their dignity in their own territory, instead of in the diet. The taxes paid by the Jews for toleration within the empire also poured a considerable sum into the imperial treasury. They were on this account termed the lackeys of the holy Roman empire. As the universities increased in

importance they were granted imperial privileges, and the emperor held the preferment to the professorships, etc., in his gift, which was managed in his name by a Pfalzgraf nominated for that purpose; but, as the dignities bestowed upon poor professors were not very profitable, the emperors carried on a more lucrative traffic in titles, which they bestowed upon the nobility, raising counts to the dignity of princes, lords to that of counts, and citizens to the knighthood. By this means there existed before long numbers of petty princes, having the title of duke (*dux*), who possessed a mere shadow of an army; counts, who were neither provincial nor popular judges; and all the doctors in the universities, although they might never have bestrode a horse, were enrolled as chevaliers or knights. These follies commenced in the fourteenth century.

According to the mystical fashion of the times, the different grades in the empire were illustrated by the number of the planets. The empire was represented as a great camp with seven gradations and seven shields, the first of which was borne by the emperor, the second by the spiritual lords, the third by the temporal princes, the fourth by the counts of the empire, the fifth by the knights of the empire, the sixth by the country nobility, the vassals of the princes, the seventh by the free citizens and peasantry; the serfs, who were incapable of bearing arms, being excluded.

The ancient distinction between the feudal vassals and the freehold proprietors still existed. Every knight who possessed an ancient allod, however small in extent, considered himself equal in birth to the most powerful counts and dukes. These nobles, originally nobles of the empire, were generally termed the *Semperfreyen*, ever free. Their privilege consisted in their freedom from any bounden duty save to the emperor, while they could be feudal lieges over other free-men; a privilege so much the more pertinaciously insisted on by the weaker among them, who possessed rank without the ability to maintain it. Hence arose the importance attached to the ancient allod, to ancestral castles, to ancient names

and arms, in short, to birth, and the haughty contempt with which the barons of the empire looked down upon the feudal nobility. There was, in reality, a great difference between the *Semperfreien* themselves, and the powerful dukes might often smile at the impoverished counts and barons (*Freiherren*), who set themselves up as their equals in rank.

The three spiritual princes, the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, had anciently precedence in the election of the emperor and in the administration of the affairs of the empire. In the fourteenth century, four temporal princes associated themselves with them, and seized the exclusive right of electing the emperor and the exercise of the imperial offices as their hereditary right. The electors, or *Churfürsten*, were restricted to the number of seven, on account of the mystical idea represented by that number. They were, the archbishop of Mayence, as arch-chancellor of the German empire; the archbishop of Treves, as chancellor of Burgundy; the archbishop of Cologne, as chancellor of Italy; the Rhenish Palatine, as imperial *Truchsess* (*dapifer*), *seneschal*, who at the coronation bore the imperial ball in the procession, and at the banquet placed the silver dishes on the table; the duke of Saxon-Wittenberg, as marshal of the empire, who bore the sword before the emperor, and acted as master of the horse; the Margrave of Brandenburg, as imperial chamberlain, who bore the scepter before the emperor, held the ewer and basin, and managed the imperial household; the king of Bohemia, as imperial cupbearer. These *Churfürsten* elected the emperor according to custom at Frankfort on the Maine, and crowned him at Aix-la-Chapelle. The first diet was always opened by the emperor in person at Nuremberg.

This princely aristocracy, however, could not succeed in totally excluding the rest of the spiritual lords of the German church, the jealous nobles of the empire, and the powerful cities, from the government of the empire, and they were before long compelled to concede seats and votes in the diet

to the bishops, abbots, petty princes, counts, knights, and burgesses.

After the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the Babenbergs, the following princely houses or races come chiefly to notice: the ancient race of the Welfs in Brunswick, that of Wittelsbach in Bavaria, that of Ballenstädt or Ascanien in Brandenburg and Anhalt, the Zähringer in Baden, that of Wettin in Misnia, that of Löwen in Brabant and Hesse, then those of the counts of Habsburg, Luxemburg, Wurtemberg, those of the Truchsesses of Waldburg, Hohenzollern, Nassau, Oldenburg, all of which acquired great fame at a later period. The reigning families of Holland, Flanders, Guelders, Juliers, Holstein, and Meran became extinct, and only the modern houses of Burgundy and Lothringia became celebrated in the west of the empire. To the south of the Alps, the Earl of Savoy, the Visconti in Milan, the Margraves d'Este in Ferrara, gained great power. In Hungary, the ancient royal house of Arpad reigned for a short period longer, and the old Slavonian races also in Bohemia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg (the descendants of Niclot), and Silesia (the ancient house of Piast).

The prince only ruled as liege lord over his vassals, among whom all the clergy, all the counts and knights of the empire, the imperial cities, and free peasantry were not included, although within his demesnes. In his quality as duke, the prince had the banner, and a right to summon to the field; but the ancient duchies had been dismembered and divided into several fiefs, and the nobles of the empire marched under the imperial banner, so that the prince merely took the field at the head of his immediate vassals. In his quality as count, he had the right of jurisdiction, but merely over his vassals, the clergy and all the vassals of the empire being free from it. The highest officer, who acted in the name of the prince, was the Vizdom or deputy (vice-domus), also termed the captain of the country. The sheriff of the country, who represented the prince in feudal matters, and the judge of the court, who

superintended the private possessions of the prince, held sometimes separate offices. Many of the princes gained the privilege of no appeal being permitted from their tribunal to the emperor (*privilegium de non appellando*). The emperor, nevertheless, always remained the sole source of legislative and executive power, so that a privilege of this description can merely be counted as an exception, and the emperor had the right of bestowing new privileges, according to his will, throughout the whole empire, even on the princes his subjects. Below the upper provincial courts of justice were especial provincial courts, answering to the ancient Gau or provincial courts (*judicia provincialia*), over which a sheriff presided; and below these again the old hundred courts, the bailiwicks with bailiffs and domain judges. The lower courts judged petty offenses; the provincial courts of justice, capital crimes.

The power of the princes was also considerably increased by the royal dues, such as customs, mines, etc., conceded to them by the emperor.

The rule of the princes was most despotic in the Slavonian frontier provinces, where the feeling of personal independence was not so deeply rooted among the people; the princes of Brandenburg, Bohemia, and Austria, consequently, ere long surpassed the rest in power. In the western countries of Germany there were a greater number of petty princes. After rendering the emperor dependent upon themselves, the princes had to carry on a lengthy contest with the lower classes, the result of which was the institution of the provincial estates. The example of the princes, who had made their great possessions independent of the emperor and hereditary, was followed in turn by their vassals, the feudal nobility, who endeavored to secure to themselves the free possession of their estates; while a fixed station, similar to that gained in the empire by the imperial towns and free peasantry, was also aspired to by the provincial towns and serfs. The tyranny of some of the princes, like Frederick the Quarrelsome and Henry Raspe, occasioned confederacies to be set

on foot between the provincial nobility, the cities, and the peasantry, against the princes. In other places, the necessities of the princes caused the imposition of taxes, which, being at that period unheard of, were laid before the people in the form of requests (*Beden*, *precaria*). Hostile attacks, the encroachments of neighboring powers, disputed claims, often rendered it necessary for the princes to turn to their subjects, and to purchase their aid with grants and privileges. It was in this manner that the provincial estates, which stood in the same relation to the prince as the imperial estates did to the emperor, and that provincial diets, which represented the imperial diet on a small scale, arose. At first, separate agreements were made for certain purposes. Thus, in 1302, the barons and knights of Upper Bavaria granted a tax to their duke; in 1307, the clergy and the cities did the same; but each estate separately, and it was not until 1396 that the three estates met in a general diet. The fourth or peasant class was only free, and therefore possessed of a right to sit in the diet, in the Tyrol, Wurtemberg, Kempten, Hadeln, Hoja, Baireuth.—The provincial diets secured the privileges of the princes and the estates, and bound them together by the ties of mutual interest and mutual protection. The maxim of the estates was, "Where we do not counsel, we will not act."

The policy pursued by some of the princely houses is remarkable. Primogeniture (the right of the first-born to the whole of the inheritance, by which subdivision, so prejudicial to family power and influence, was avoided) was, notwithstanding the evident advantage, introduced at a later period, and became by no means general. The Zähringer and the Welfs at first attempted to strengthen themselves by means of the cities, in which they were unsuccessful, the cities of Zurich and Berne on the one hand, and that of Lubeck on the other, making themselves independent. The Wittelsbacher were more successful, and increased their authority by favoring the institution of the provincial estates. At a later period, the Habsburgs chiefly supported them-

selves upon the provincial nobility, the Luxemburgs on the citizen class, on art and science, and raised Bohemia to a high degree of civilization; while the Wurtembergs raised themselves imperceptibly to greater power, by purging their demesnes as much as possible of the ecclesiastical and lay lords and of the cities, and by solely favoring their peasantry.

The laws wholly consisted of treaties and privileges. The former were: First, Concordates between the emperor and the pope, in which the emperor always made concessions to the church, and by which the canon law was essentially increased. Second, Laws of the empire concluded in the diet between the emperor and the assembled states, and answering to the capitularies of former times, but now chiefly consisting of resolutions for the maintenance of public tranquillity, decrees of the states for the regulation of the empire. The independent spirit of the estates opposed a more comprehensive mode of legislation, as had been, for instance, attempted to be introduced by Frederick II. Third, Capitulations, grants, charters, negotiations concerning inheritances and divisions, concluded between the emperor and the powerful princes. Fourth, Feudal laws agreed to by the feoffer and the feodary. Fifth, Provincial laws settled between the princes and the provincial estates. Sixth, Federative laws of the federated knights, cities, and peasants. Seventh, Commercial privileges of the citizens and peasantry. Eighth, Privileges of corporations and guilds, some for the single towns, others for the members of a corporation spread throughout the empire.¹ Every trade imposed its particular regulations upon itself; the customs of the craft were everywhere similar, and merely the political privileges of the corporation differed in different towns.

Privileges were conferred by the emperor, and also by the princes, and always merely related to single prerogatives.

¹ For instance, the pipers and musicians, who had a distinct court of justice, as also had the singers at a later period. The bee-masters' court in Nuremberg, an imperial court of justice for the free corporation of bee-masters, who, during war time, sent a contingent of six arquebusiers to serve the empire, and whose honey furnished the celebrated Nuremberg gingerbread, was peculiar of its kind.

The canon law, clear and comprehensive, as greatly contrasted with the confused state of the temporal legislature as did the church with the empire. It was on this account that the Hohenstaufen endeavored to introduce the Roman law, and, at all events, favored the study of this law, which was introduced into the university of Bologna by the great lawyer Irnerius (Werner): besides which, the Germans themselves endeavored to compile general codes of law out of the numerous single laws. Eike (Ecco, Echard) von Repcow was the first who, by command of Count Hoier von Falkenstein (the picturesque ruins of whose castle are still to be seen on the Harz), collected all the Saxon laws, and formed them into a compilation called the *Saxonspiegel*, or *Saxon-lage*, written in Latin and Low German in 1215. It contained the imperial prerogatives, feudal laws, provincial laws, and ancient usages in law matters, and every Saxon could refer to it for information in every legal case. Whenever the ancient Saxon law opposed the new papal ordinances, it was defended and maintained, on account of which the pope rejected many of the rights insisted on in this code. Although the *Saxonspiegel* was simply a private collection (first ratified by Frederick II.), and was not only far from containing all the German laws, but was also compiled without reference to order, the want of a general code of laws was so deeply felt that this code shortly became extremely celebrated, was continually copied, and finally completed by the addition of local laws and regulations. In 1282, it appeared in a new form as the *Schwabenspiegel*, or code of Swabian laws, and, as was natural on the fall of the Hohenstaufen, with a much more decided papist tendency; also with new additions, as the standard law-book and imperial law, to all of which the *Saxonspiegel* served as a foundation.—Among the especial laws, the feudal laws of Lombardy of 1235, and the Austrian provincial laws of 1250, the municipal laws of Soest and Lubeck, and the Friscian peasant laws, were the most celebrated.

The feudal system gradually gained ground. So little

was it deemed disgraceful to be a feodary, that it often happened that the feudal lord was at the same time vassal to his vassals.¹ Hence arose the strange and scarcely accountable symbols of enfeoffment. When a wealthy man of rank held a property or a privilege in fee of an inferior, he humbled himself merely in a laughable manner before him. The same took place between equals, and, in this manner, a number of feudal tenures became associated with ridiculous customs suggested by chance and by good humor.² The feoffee of a church was invested by touching the bell-rope.

In the administration of justice, the right of every criminal to choose his own judges was still preserved. Thus, the Schwabenspiegel says, "Every temporal tribunal is raised by election, in order that no lord may impose a judge upon the people except the one whom they choose themselves." In the same manner, the proceedings were held in public, and conducted by word of mouth, both in the imperial courts of justice and all others, down to those of the peasantry. Even evidence by averment, single combat, and ordeals was still retained in the law, and single combat came into still greater practice on account of the customs of chivalry.³

The influence of the Roman and Mosaic notions, however, introduced a fresh barbarity into criminal law, unknown in Germany, even during the earliest ages. All the lower courts were not only empowered, as formerly, to fix the Wergeld or

¹ The emperor Henry VI. was invested by the bishop of Basel, A.D. 1185, with the city of Breisach. — *Ochs' History of Basel*.

² Dümge has given several examples. A monastery had, when first invested, presented the feudal liege with a pair of boots, which he probably needed at the moment, and was consequently obliged to present him annually with a pair. The emperor Sigmund, when on a journey being once well entertained, invested his host with a meadow; the host in return engaging to meet every emperor who might visit that part of the country with a wagon-load of cooked meats served in dishes. The city of Nimwegen sent a glove full of pepper as an annual offering to the city of Aix-la-Chapelle, in return for the decision of their law cases by the tribunal of the latter city. — *Birkenmeyer's Antiquarian Curiosities*.

³ Even among the lower classes and among women. In the thirteenth century, it was the custom when a complaint was brought before the court of the violation of female chastity, and the matter could not be proved, for the defendant to be buried in the ground up to his middle, and, armed with a stick an ell in length, to fight with the complainant, who struck at him with a stone tied up in her veil. — *Gasser, Chronicle of Augsburg*.

fine at a certain amount, but also to pronounce over "hide and hair," that is, to adjudge the criminal to be flogged, beaten, or shorn; while all the upper courts were empowered to pronounce over "head and hand," over life and death. The gallows and the rack were ever at work. Chopping off the hands, putting out the eyes, etc., became the order of the day. It is remarkable in the transition from the ancient Germanic to the Roman-Mosaic administration of justice, that the office of headsman, which, in ancient pagan times, was a priestly function in the name of the Divinity, was long deemed sacred and honorable, and was, consequently, performed by the youngest counselors; and it was not until Roman tortures and numerous and cruel bodily punishments and modes of death were introduced together with the Doctors of the Roman law, that the people attached the idea of disgrace and infamy to the headsman's office, now become both hateful and difficult to perform, and it was for the future committed to a newly-formed corporation or society of headsman, who were licensed to follow that bloody and disgusting profession, but were, on that account, deprived of all honorable privileges in social life.—The mode of crime often furnished the mode of punishment. Thus, for instance, coiners were boiled in kettles. Heretics were burned alive. The aristocracy, like the clergy, enjoyed privileges. For a high dignitary of the church to be convicted of misdemeanor, a greater number of witnesses were requisite than could by any possibility be present. It gradually became a settled custom, that equals in birth alone could prefer a complaint against one another. The emperor himself conferred the right upon certain knights of being solely amenable to accusations laid to their charge by another knight. The same difference was made in punishments; the hanging of a knight has always been cited by historians as an exception, and that of the lower classes as a general rule.—The Roman law also introduced the use of the most horrid modes of torture into the German administration of justice; and also in lawsuits, written and secret proceedings gradually gained ground by

means of secret examinations, written decisions, and reports to higher courts.

In Westphalia, as in Friesland, the ancient mode of administering justice was longest preserved. There the provincial *Grafs* still held their tribunal in the open air, with the elected justices or sheriffs, in the presence of the free peasantry. This tribunal was denominated a free court of justice; the seat of justice, the free seat; the *Graf*, the free *Graf*; the sheriffs, the free sheriffs. In each district, *Gau*, or province, were several seats of justice, answering to the ancient hundred courts. These courts were afterward replaced by the *Fengericht*, superior or high court of judicature, the secret tribunal (*secreta judicia*) formed under the great regent of the empire, Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, and duke of Westphalia, who federated with a number of honorable men of every class for the purpose of secretly judging and punishing all evil-doers. Secrecy was, at that time, highly necessary, each of the judges, in case his name was discovered, being exposed to the vengeance of the innumerable turbulent spirits. The utility of this tribunal was ere long so generally recognized that in the fourteenth century it already counted 100,000 members. These members were bound by a solemn oath. A traitor was hanged seven feet higher than other criminals. The chief judge presided over the whole of the members. Next in order were the free *Grafs*, who elected the chief judge; then the free sheriffs, who elected the free *Graf*; and fourthly and lastly, the messengers who summoned the court and the accused, and executed the sentence. All the members recognized each other by a secret sign. No ecclesiastic, except the spiritual lord, no Jew, woman, or servant, were permitted among the members, nor were they amenable to the court. Freeborn laymen alone were, in this manner, judged by their peers. Such accusations were also alone brought before this court that either had not been, or could not be, brought before any other. The tribunal assembled in secret. A member came forward as accuser. The accused was sum-

moned three times. There was no appeal except in cases of indecision, and then only to the emperor or to the pope. If the accused neglected to appear, the oath of the accuser was declared sufficient proof of his guilt. On the other hand, every member accused by another could clear himself by oath. The condemned criminal was secretly and mysteriously deprived of life. His body was always found with a dagger marked with the letters S S G G (stick, stone, grass, grein), plunged into it.

CLXV. *The Aristocracy and the Knighthood*

THE lower nobility were of three kinds. The old and proud families, who still retained their allods and despised feudality, were the sworn enemies of the princes, the bishops, the abbeys, and the cities. Within the walls of their ancestral castles they bade defiance to all, and acknowledged no superior except the emperor. The more powerful families strove to place themselves on an equal footing with the princes, and took advantage of the disturbances of the times to extend their authority, more especially since the fall of the duchies of Franconia, Saxony, and Swabia. In this manner noble families, such as those of Habsburg, Luxemburg, Wurtemberg, Hohenzollern, Nassau, Mansfeld, Schwarzburg, etc., which, at first, merely possessed some small castle, gradually rose. The weaker families were partly ruined by their more powerful neighbors, who attacked and reduced them to submission, and partly maintained their independence by entering into a mutual league after the example of the cities. The mode in which these bold knights existed was very romantic.¹ Whenever the

¹ The memory of the wild knights still lives in numerous legends. The four robber-nests of the notorious knight Landschaden von Neckar-Steinach still stand on the Neckar. This knight was put out of the ban of the empire, but disguising himself in black armor, and wearing his visor always closed, accompanied a crusade to the Holy Land, where he distinguished himself by performing prodigies of valor, and at length, when the emperor, struck with his bravery, offered him a reward in the presence of his other knights, lifted his visor and discovered the well-known features of the old robber.—Who is there through-

labor of their enslaved serfs was insufficient for their maintenance and for that of their men-at-arms, they robbed the monasteries, and waylaid the merchants traveling with their goods from one city to another. The citizens often marched against them, and sometimes the emperor in person; many of their castles were destroyed, and themselves, whenever they could be caught, hanged on the nearest tree, booted and spurred.—It often happened that several poor neighboring knights would build a castle at their common expense, in which they dwelt together, and which formed the common inheritance of their children. These were termed co-proprietors. In the songs of the Minnesingers, the bitter complaints of the poor knights, that although equal in birth to the princes, they were so far inferior to them in power, are of frequent recurrence.

The nobles belonging to the different orders of knight-hood formed a second and distinct class. They also still breathed the spirit of ancient freedom and proud independence, and, at the same time, acquired an aristocratic influence equaling that of the princes. The first of these orders, the Templars, became so powerful in Italy that the French monarch made use of his influence over the pope in order to annihilate them. Had the German order of knight-hood settled in the heart of Germany, a coalition between

out Bavaria unacquainted with grim Heinz von Stein? And stories, like the following, are to be met with in all the old chronicles. A troop of Hessian robber-knights, headed by the lords of Bibra, Ebersberg, Thungen, and Steinau, entered the little town of Brückenau concealed in wine-casks, out of which they crept during the night, and pillaged the place, but, being delayed by packing the booty, were attacked by the citizens, and, after losing all their ill-gotten gain, were chased from the town. The independent spirit of the knights, however, was sometimes shown in a more worthy manner. The legend of the knight Thedel Unverferden von Wallmoden, who was said to use the devil as his steed, and was famed for his fearlessness, is perfectly in accordance with the age. Henry the Lion once attempting to startle him by suddenly biting his finger, he gave him in return a hearty box on the ear, angrily exclaiming, "Have you become a dog?" The conduct of the Freiherr von Krenkingen was still more independent; when visited by the emperor Barbarossa at his estate at Tengen near Constance, he received him sitting, because he held his lands in fee of no one but of the sun, and although he personally honored the emperor, did not own him as his liege lord.

it and the whole of the discontented nobles of the empire would have resulted, and a strong opposition have thus been raised against the princes; but by migrating to the utmost limits of the empire, to Prussia, it ever remained a stranger to the internal affairs of Germany, merely recruiting its numbers from the German aristocracy.

The feudal aristocracy formed a third class as court nobility, and filled all the chief offices of state. This class consisted of the ancient ministeriales, who actually served at court¹ and of the vassals, the feudal nobles, who either held lands in fee of the clergy and of the temporal princes for services rendered, or who had changed their originally free allods into a feudum oblatum. These nobles, although raised by their own services, still maintained an aristocratic power, opposed to that of the princes. The vassals often rose in arms against their liege, as was the case in Thuringia, Austria, Bavaria, etc., and at length gained new political rights as provincial estates, and yet these nobles were bound both by their feudal oath, by habit, and by interest, to the court of the prince. Many fiefs were inseparable from court offices, and those knights who could neither live by robbery, support the solitude of their rocky fastnesses, nor enter the church, were alone able (no value being at that period attached to agriculture and industry) to satisfy their ambition, their love of splendor, and their romantic love of adventure, at court.

The institution of knighthood (*ordo militaris*) was founded during the crusades, and formed an exclusive society, in which novices (noble youths, pages, guargune, armor-bearers) and companions (squires, men-at-arms) learned the art of arms under the master (a knight), and followed him to the field, until they had rendered themselves worthy of the honor of knighthood. The ceremony consisted of be-

¹ It often happened that their original vassalage was not removed, even when a family was already in the enjoyment of all the other privileges of the ministerial nobles, but it was only in law questions that the real rank of these aristocrats was brought into notice. Hüllmann has collected several cases of this kind.

ing invested with the weapons sacred to knighthood, and receiving a stroke with the flat of the sword,¹ which was deemed the highest honor that even a sovereign could attain. The youthful knight, in sign of devoting himself to the service of God, prepared himself like a priest by fasting and watching (over his arms at night) for the solemnity, and, robed in white, swore, before the altar, ever to speak the truth, to defend right, religion, and her servants, to protect widows, orphans, and innocence, and to fight against the infidels. Besides these general duties, each knight imposed upon himself the private one of fighting in honor of his mistress or his wife, bore her favorite color and her token, and used her name as his war-cry.

The institution of knighthood was the result of the ancient heroic spirit of our pagan forefathers, sanctified by that of Christianity. The chivalric school of arms was an imitation of the ancient warlike fraternities, in which personal bravery and unflinching courage were, as in chivalry, necessary in the warrior. The ancient spirit of the people might be traced even in the lawless insolence of the wild robber knights and ruffians. It was this spirit that inspired these bold and venturesome knights with such profound contempt for all law save sword-law, according to the motto of that wildest of knights, Count Eberhard von Wurtemberg: "The friend of God and foe of all mankind!" Like to a race of royal eagles, they built their eyries on the summits of the rocks, and looked down with proud contempt on the laborious dwellers in the vale. It was the same spirit that drove them to the mountain-tops, there to erect their lordly castles, and thence to rule the plain, that in olden time caused mountains to be selected for the abode of kings and the seat of gods. The hardy habits of these mountain

¹ With the words:

"In honor of God and the Virgin pure,
This receive and nothing more,
Be honest, true, and brave,
Better knight than slave."

knights, life and continual exercise in the open air, the objects by which they were surrounded, the sunny height, the forest shade, the rushing stream, the flowery mead, also fostered in their bosoms that love of nature with which the German in days of yore was so strongly imbued, and tuned the poet's soul.

The courts of the emperor and of the princes naturally became the centers of chivalry. It was in these courts, to which the assemblage of knights lent splendor, that they sought to earn distinction by deeds of prowess in honor of their dames, and acquired all the accomplishments of the day. Wherever a prince proclaimed a tournament the knights poured in crowds to the spot. A herald or king-at-arms examined their genealogies and right of admission to the noble pastime. After the usual forms, the tournament began in the presence of the princes, of the ladies, by whom the prize was bestowed, and of an innumerable crowd composed of every class. The advantage of ground, light, and sun was rendered as equal as possible. The weapons also were alike. A tournament generally signified a mimic fight, of which there were several kinds, on foot and on horseback, merely with the sword and the lance. The principal part of the tournament was the tilting or breaking of lances, by which the prowess of the knights was proved. The knights and their horses were clothed cap-à-pie in mail, and ran against each other with long heavy lances. The one who bore the fearful blow without being unseated, and cast his opponent to the ground, was declared victor.' This

¹ The old German custom was to tilt freely at each other; the Italian custom was to place a barrier between the knights, along which they rode, each on the opposite side, against the other, so that the men and not the horses received the blow. As the spirit of chivalry declined, the armor became less ponderous—this was termed the modern mode. There were four distinctive modes of tilting, the old German, the modern German, the Italian, and the modern Italian. There were also numerous varieties of tilting, differing from the real fight, that is, from the various modes of fighting on foot with long or short swords, daggers, clubs, battle-axes. The best accounts are to be found in Schemel's *Book of the Tournament*, in manuscript, with colored designs (the only one of its kind), in the Ambraser collection at Vienna.

dangerous sport often proved fatal.' Each knight bore his arms. Each of the nations of Germany had originally two colors, into which the shield was divided, or one was the ground-color and the other that of the figure represented upon it. These colors were the same in every family belonging to the same nation, the figures alone varying. The French shields were white and red, those of the Swabians red and yellow, those of Bavaria white and blue, those of Saxony black and white. The hereditary offices of the empire and the free imperial towns assumed the colors of the reigning dynasty.¹ The rapid succession of different reigning families, the intermixture and exchange of feudal possessions, had, it is true, been productive of great confusion in the ancient colors of the four principal nations of Germany. The greatest variety reigned in the symbols, each family having its own peculiar sign; and some individuals again made choice of particular ones, as, for instance, Henry the Welf, the lion, Albrecht of Brandenburg, the bear. It must further be remarked that the names of families with the addition "von" was originally no sign of nobility of birth, every peasant having a right to add to his name that of his birth-place or place of abode.

It was at the courts that the knights also learned to carry the feeling of honor to a high degree of refinement, and to practice the customs of chivalry. There it was that they smoothed down the rough, coarse manners that had accompanied them from their villages, that bloodthirsty cruelty was checked, and the difficult art of honor fostered and cultivated to an incredible excess, with the same assiduous enthusiasm with which the Germans, at that period, pursued every object regarded by them as sacred. When at length

¹ At a tournament held at Magdeburg in 1175, sixteen knights were slain; at one at Neuss in 1256, thirty-six; in 1394, at Liegnitz, the duke Boleslaw lost his life; and in 1496, twenty-six knights fell.

² The imperial colors took from the Saxon dynasty black, from the Franconian red, and from the Swabian gold color. Under the Carolingians they were simply Franconian, white and red. Those of France were, for the same reason, originally white and red, the blue afterward added was the color of the Valois.

the spirit had vanished that once animated the noble to deeds of chivalry, the dead form of honor alone remained in the corrupt system of dueling, and in the foolish prejudices allied with birth and station.

The service of the fair formed an essential part of courtly and knightly customs. It originated in the reverence paid during pagan times to women, was ennobled by Christianity, and, in conformity with the rules of art and manners practiced in the courtly circle, admitted into the code of honor. To insult or injure a woman was against the laws of chivalry, for honor imposed upon the strong the defense and care of the weak. Woman, the ideal of beauty, gentleness, and love, inflamed each knightly bosom with a desire to serve her, to perform great deeds at her bidding or in her name, to worship her as a protecting divinity or a saint, to conquer or to die under her colors; and this submission to the gentle yoke of women, bred in humility and religion, chiefly contributed to civilize and humanize the manners of the age. The knight of renowned courage and an adept in the rules of honor was likewise required to understand the rules of female society, the service of the fair, courtship or the service of love, before he could secure the reward of love, the heart and hand of his beloved. Love became an art, a knightly study. The rules of love were recorded in verse and in song, and applied with the greatest minuteness to every case. There were also courts of love composed of select women and knightly poets, who gave their judgment with extraordinary sagacity on every question of love. This art was in romantic countries termed gallantry, a term now merely indicative of the empty, vain shadow of the ancient reality. The difference is so great that the term gallantry, which at that period signified modesty and virtue, now signifies immodesty and vice. Fidelity was the very essence of true love. And the practice of chastity and continence bestowed those blessings of health and strength on the generations of that period, which the license of later ages, like rust upon iron, could alone destroy.

CLXVI. *The Chivalric Poetry of Swabia*

THE chivalric poetry of Swabia flourished from the commencement of the twelfth until that of the fourteenth century. The poets sang to the harp, the favorite instrument during the Middle Ages. The violin or fiddle appears to have also come into use at an early period, the singers being termed harpers or fiddlers. Poetry, of whatever description, was generally in rhythm, an ancient German invention, and peculiar to the German language, it having been unknown to the more ancient nations, the Greeks and the Romans, and being adopted from the German by the Italians of more modern date. By the meter the shortness or length of the vowel was merely marked; rhythm, on the contrary, marked the difference between the vowels, and added the charm of harmony, thus converting the monotonous rise and fall of one tone into a language varied as the tones of music. Rhythm introduced a higher species of poetry, and added richness and expression to language.

Minnelieder, or love songs, were of high antiquity in Germany. We find, in the time of Louis the Pious, that the German nuns sang Winlieder (Win, friend), which were forbidden as too worldly by that pious emperor. In the days of chivalry the sun of love once more rose upon Swabia, and awoke thousands of flowers, a world full of songs of love, which have been handed down to us by hundreds of poets. The joy of the heart is in these songs compared to spring; pain, to winter. They are full of beautiful comparisons. They are themselves flowers, their roots the heart, their sun love, their atmosphere fate. The preservation of the most beautiful of the Minnelieder is due to the noble knight, Rudiger Maness von Manek, a citizen of Zurich, who, about the year 1300, assiduously collected them into a manuscript enriched with pictures. This collection was left at Paris by mistake in 1815. Another valuable collection of Minnelieder is to be seen at Jena, a smaller one

at Heidelberg. Among the Minnesingers were several princes, among whom the Hohenstaufen chiefly distinguished themselves; the emperor Frederick II., Manfred, and Enzo always used the Italian language; Minnelieder, in the German tongue, of the emperors Henry VI. and Conrad of Swabia, are still extant, besides some composed by Wenzel, king of Bohemia, Henry, duke of Breslau, Henry, duke of Anhalt, John, duke of Brabant, Henry, Margrave of Misnia, Otto, Margrave of Brandenburg, etc. The finest and greatest number of Minnelieder were the work of Swabian nobles of lesser degree, the most distinguished among whom was Walther von der Vogelweide, who sang not only of love, but of national glory, and of the corruption that began to prevail in the church and state. Next to him came Reinmar von Zweter. The most ardent admirers of the sex were Ulrich von Lichtenstein (who, attired as "Dame Venus," traveled from Venice into Bohemia, challenging every knight to single combat), and Henry Frauenlob of Mayence, who was borne to his grave by the most beautiful of the women of that city, and wine was poured over his tomb. Hartmann von Owe was the finest of the pastoral poets.

An anonymous poet of the twelfth century blended the finest of the old ancestral legends of the Franconians, Burgundians, and Goths, bearing reference to Saxony, Swabia, and Bavaria, into one great epic poem, that carries us back to the time of Attila (Etzel), and in the description of the different races and of their heroes borrows many traits from later history, and softens the gloom and cruelty of pagan times by tingeing the whole with the brighter spirit of chivalry and Christianity. This most extraordinary of all German poems is the song of the Nibelungen, which has been with justice said to figure in German poetry as the epic poem of Homer does in that of Greece. The general idea of the Nibelungenlied is similar with that of the Edda, nor is the resemblance fortuitous. The fate of the ancient heroic age was fixed beforehand; it was to be fulfilled by the universal

struggle caused by the migrations, and the new and milder age promised in the Edda after the conflagration of the world was to commence with the Christian era, and under the wise legislation of Theodoric the Great. The composer of the Nibelungenlied took a similar view of ancient times. He assembles all the German heroes at Etzel's court, and destroys them all, together with the empire of the Huns, in one immense conflict, whence Dietrich von Bern (Verona) alone issues victorious and becomes the founder of a new era.

The histories of Henry IV., of the Saxon war, and of Frederick Barbarossa (Gunther Ligurinus), written in Latin verse, are imitations of the ancient Roman poets. The following heroic legends, written in German rhythm, bear more resemblance in their tone and spirit to the ancient book of heroes: the legend of Duke Ernest of Swabia, written by Henry von Veldek and others, the wondrous histories of Henry the Lion, Louis of Thuringia, Frederick of Swabia, Frederick the Quarrelsome, Godfred of Bouillon, etc., and many other ancestral legends of both the princes and lower aristocracy.

To these may be added the chronicles written in rhythm of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in which historical facts intermingle with legendary tales.

The poetry of Germany became gradually influenced by the taste prevalent throughout Europe. The orders of knight-hood embraced the whole of the Christian aristocracy of Europe, without distinction of nation or of language, and the conquest of the Holy Sepulcher united them in one common object, and brought them into contact. They became acquainted with the manners and customs of the East, studied the poets of Greece and Rome, and the fantastic magic tales of Araby. A new species of poetry, full of warmth and life, replaced the old popular legends; a similar spirit animated the poets of Germany and Italy, who mutually borrowed from each other. German romance, however, bore away the palm, and surpassed that of rival nations both in compass and depth.

In the twelfth century, the legends of Greece and Rome began to be interwoven with those of Germany, and gave birth to the chronicle of the emperors, which was written in verse. This and other chronicles of the same period are a complete medley of ancient legends and classical stories. Lamprecht's *Life of Alexander the Great* is, on the other hand, remarkable for beauty and simplicity, but the tone was first given to German romance by Henry von Veldek, in the reign of Barbarossa, the splendor of whose court he has described in his free translation of the *Æneid*. He was followed by several others of the same school. The foreign legends of King Arthur of the round table, etc., were also borrowed and successfully imitated. These poems, still breathing the spirit of those chivalric times, are in themselves a golden key to the Middle Ages.

In the thirteenth century, Reinecke Fuchs, a satire written by Willem de Matoc in the Netherlands, offered a strong contrast with this chivalric poetry, and ridiculed the policy of the courts and of the great with surpassing wit. The materials from which this fable was composed belong to a still earlier date, and appear to have formerly served as satires upon political life.

The knights, assembled at the different courts, emulated each other in feats of arms or in song. The German legendary bards, in particular, opposed, as national poets, those of the holy "Graal," or universal ones. Hermann, Landgrave of Thuringia, assembled the most renowned poets of the age of either party in the Wartburg, where a prize was to be contested. Among the number were Henry von Veldek, Walther von der Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Bitterolf, Reinhard von Zwetzen, Henry von Ofterdingen. They first tried each other's wit, by proposing enigmas and ingenious questions. Henry von Ofterdingen sang in praise of Leopold, duke of Austria, and Wolfram von Eschenbach in that of the Landgrave Hermann. The contest, without doubt, aroused bitter feelings; these two bards had been the most redoubtable champions of German

legendary poetry and of that of the holy Graal, and the feud carried on during those times between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines is visible even in their songs. This is seen in the names of the German-Rhenish Nibelungen, and of the Italian-Gothic Wölfinger, Welfs; and a poem of Henry von Ofterdingen, the Little Rose-garden, clearly favors the Wölfinger (Welfs or Guelphs). According to the story, the contest between Wolfram and Henry became at length one of life and death, and the headsman stood in readiness to decapitate the discomfited singer. Eschenbach's metallic notes were victorious, and Henry von Ofterdingen fled for protection to the Landgravine Sophia, who covered him with her mantle and saved his life. He received permission to visit Hungary and bring thence to his assistance the celebrated bard and magician, Clingsor, to whose art and influence at court he afterward owed his life. This scene took place, in 1207, in the great hall in the Wartburg, which is still standing.

The pipers and musicians were distinct from the knightly bards, and exercised their art merely at festivals and dances. They traveled about in small bands. They also formed a particular guild or society, that spread throughout the whole empire; the counts of Rappoltstein in Alsace, who were their hereditary governors, were termed the piper-kings, and, adorned with a golden crown, annually held a great court of justice, the pipers' court, to which all the musicians in Europe brought their complaints.

CLXVII. *The Cities*

THE cities had, from an insignificant origin, risen to a height of power that enabled them to defy the authority of the sovereign, and to become the most powerful support of the empire. Increasing civilization had produced numerous wants, which commerce and industry could alone supply. The people, moreover, oppressed by the feudal system in the country, sheltered themselves beneath the ægis of the city

corporations. The artisans, although originally serfs, were always free. In many cities the air bestowed freedom; whoever dwelt within their walls could not be reduced to a state of vassalage, and was instantly enfranchised, although formerly a serf when dwelling beyond the walls. In the thirteenth century, every town throughout Flanders enjoyed this privilege. It was only in the villages that fell, at a later period, under the jurisdiction of the towns that the peasants still remained in a state of vassalage. The emperors, who beheld in the independence and power of the cities a defense against the princes and the popes, readily bestowed great privileges upon them, and released them from the jurisdiction of the lords of the country, the bishops and the imperial governors. The cities often asserted their own independence, the power of a bishop being unable to cope with that of a numerous and high-spirited body of citizens. They also increased their extent at the expense of the provincial nobility, by throwing down their castles, by taking their serfs as *Pfahlbürger* (suburbans), or by purchasing their lands.

The imperial free cities had the right of prescribing their own laws, which were merely ratified by the emperor. The sovereign princes of the country at first projected laws in favor of the citizens, as, for instance, the *Zähringer*, the civic legislature of Freiburg in the eleventh century, and Henry the Lion, that of Lubeck. The celebrated civic laws of Soest date from the twelfth century. These were followed by those of Stade, earlier than 1204; those of Schwerin, in 1222; of Brunswick, in 1232; and by those of Muhlhausen, Hamburg, Augsburg, Celle, Erfurt, Ratisbon, etc. To the right of legislation was added that of independent jurisdiction, which was denoted by the pillars, known as Roland's pillars, and by the red towers. The red flag was the sign of penal judicature, and red towers were used as prisons for criminals; and as the practice of torture became more general in criminal cases, torture, famine, witch, and heretic towers were erected in almost every town. The manage-

ment of the town affairs was at length entirely intrusted to the council, which originally consisted of the sheriffs headed by a mayor, but was afterward chiefly composed of members elected from the different parishes, and was at length compelled to admit among its number the presidents of the various guilds; and the mayor, the president of the ancient burgesses, was, consequently, replaced by the burgomaster, or president of the guilds. The right of self-government was denoted by the bell on the town or council house, in the Middle Ages the greatest pride of the provincial cities, which had gained independence.

The annual election of all the city officers was an almost general regulation, and by this means the communes, at first the aristocratic burgesses, and afterward the democratic guilds, always controlled the affairs of the town. At a later period, the most powerful party attempted to render their dignities hereditary, and revolutions repeatedly ensued in consequence. All the citizens were freemen, bore arms, and could attain knighthood. The burgesses formed chivalric guilds according to families, as the Overstolzen at Cologne, the Zoren and Muhlheimer at Strasburg; or free associations, as, for instance, the Lilien-Vente, in Brunswick, which numbered four hundred and two knights.

Many of the cities were invested with royal privileges, such as minting and levying customs. All possessed the right of holding large markets, which the country people were obliged to attend. On this account, artisans were not permitted to reside in the villages, but were compelled to take up their abode according to their craft in the cities. Several of the towns had also staple laws, that is, all merchants passing through them or along the river on which they were built, were compelled to stop and to expose their goods for sale for some time within their walls. It was also settled that all great festivals and assemblies should be held in the cities.

The great burgesses in the cities were on an equality with the provincial nobility, with whom they continually inter-

married; consequently, many of the citizens possessed castles in the province, or the knights, who inhabited the castles, had a right of citizenship. The interest of the nobility was, however, opposed to that of the cities, which they molested either in order to serve the prince, or on their own account, and the great burgesses were compelled to declare for one party. In the cities of Southern Germany, their inclination in favor of the aristocracy and of the princes generally terminated in their expulsion from the city. In the North of Germany, they were animated with a more civic spirit, placed themselves at the head of the populace, and in strong opposition to the nobility, by which means they more firmly secured their authority. As time passed on, the numbers of the artisans, divided into guilds according to the craft they followed, increased to an enormous extent, while that of the great burgess families gradually diminished, numbers of them becoming extinct. As the aid of the artisans was indispensable for carrying on the feuds between the burgher families of different cities, they were compelled to grant them a part of the profit gained in trade, hence it naturally followed that the guilds ere long grasped at greater privileges, and formed a democratic party, which aimed at wresting the management of the town business out of the hands of the aristocratic burghers.

The corporations corresponded with the ancient German guilds. The artisan entered as an apprentice, became partner, and finally master. The apprentice, like the knightly squire, was obliged to travel. The completion of a masterpiece was required before he could become a master. Illegitimate birth and immorality excluded the artisan from the guild. Each guild was strictly superintended by a tribune. Every member of a guild was assisted when in need by the society. Every disagreement between the members was put a stop to, as injurious to the whole body. The members of one corporation generally dwelt in one particular street, had their common station in the market, their distinguishing colors, and a part assigned to them in guarding the city,

etc. These guilds chiefly conducted to bring art and handicraft to perfection. The apprentice returned from his travels with a stock of experience and knowledge he could not have acquired at home. The guilds of different cities had little connection with each other beyond housing their brother craftsmen on their arrival in a strange city, and by the general similarity in their rules of art and in their corporative regulations. The mercantile guilds were an exception, and formed the great Hansa league in which several cities were included. The society of Freemasons, whose art called them to different parts of the world, were also closely united. They were divided, according to the four quarters of the heavens, into four classes, each of which had a particular place of assembly; symbolically termed a lodge, where the masters met, for the purpose of deliberating over the mode in which any great architectural design was to be executed, of laying down rules, and of giving directions in matters relating to art or to the corporation, of nominating new masters, etc. The four great lodges were at Cologne, Strasburg, Vienna, and Zurich.

The princes, bishops, and aristocracy, as well as, generally speaking, the great burgher families, dreaded the rising power of the guilds, and sought to annihilate it by violence. The emperor, on the contrary, favored them from prudential motives. Favor and disgrace were equally ineffectual; the power possessed by the guilds made its own way. The burghers, few in number, and disdaining the co-operation of the other ancient burgesses of ignoble descent, could not withstand the immense numerical strength of the artisans. Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Strasburg, could each raise a body of twenty thousand able-bodied citizens and suburbans. At Louvain, the weavers' guild alone numbered four thousand masters and fifteen thousand apprentices. Revolts before long broke out in all the cities. The guilds were sometimes victorious, and drove the burghers from the towns, or incorporated them with their guilds; sometimes the burghers succeeded in defending themselves

for some time, with the aid of their partisans and of the neighboring nobility. The emperor sometimes attempted to arbitrate between the contending parties, or peace was brought about by the neighboring cities. These events gave rise to constitutions varying from each other in the different cities, in some of which the burghers retained the shadow of their former authority, and in others were utterly pushed aside and a new council was formed, consisting of the heads of each corporation. The whole of the citizens were, consequently, divided into corporations, and the lesser and less numerous craftsmen of different kinds united into one body. But, as the son generally followed his father's business, and, consequently, succeeded him in his guild, particular families retained possession of the presidency of the guild, and often formed a new order of patricians, which, whenever it seemed likely to endanger the liberties of the citizens, was associated with a civic committee. The former, in that case, was termed the little council, and exercised the executive power according to prescribed rules; the latter, the great council, which had the legislative power, and called the little one to account.

The guilds first rose to power in the cities of Southern Germany; at Basel and Ulm, in the thirteenth century. In Northern Germany, the burghers maintained their power by means of the commercial league, which was chiefly between themselves. The democratic reaction in the North took place as the power of the Hansa declined, and during the general struggle for liberty at the time of the first reformation.

German commerce flourished in the Northern Ocean earlier than in the Baltic, which, until the twelfth century, was infested by Scandinavian and Slavonian pirates. Flanders far surpassed the other countries of Germany in her municipal privileges, art, and industry, possessed the first great commercial navy, and founded the first great commercial league or Hansa, in the twelfth century.

This example, the final subjection of the Wends on the Baltic, and the crusades, greatly increased the activity of

commerce in the thirteenth century on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Baltic. The crusades were undertaken from a mercantile as well as a religious point of view. In the East, the merchant pilgrims formed themselves into the German orders of knighthood, and, on their return to their native country, leagued together, in 1241, for the purpose of defending their rights against the native princes, and their commerce against the attacks of the foreigner.

This Hansa league extended to such a degree in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as sometimes to include upward of seventy cities; its fleets ruled the Northern Ocean, conquered entire countries, and reduced powerful sovereigns to submission. The union that existed between the cities was, nevertheless, far from firmly cemented, and the whole of its immense force was, from want of unanimity, seldom brought to bear at once upon its enemies. A single attempt would have placed the whole of Northern Germany within its power, had the policy of the citizens been other than mercantile, and had they not been merely intent upon forcing the temporal and spiritual lords to trade with them upon the most favorable conditions.

All the cities included in the league sent their representatives to the Hanse diet at Lubeck, where the archive was kept. The leagued cities were, at a later period, divided into three and afterward into four quarters or circles, each of which had its particular metropolis, and specially elected aldermen. In the fifteenth century they stood as follows: First, The Wendian cities, Lubeck (the metropolis of the whole league, where the directory of the Hansa, the general archive and treasury, were kept, where the great Hanse diets were held by the deputies from all the Hanse towns, in which they took into deliberation commercial speculations, the arming of fleets, peace and war), Hamburg, Bremen, Wismar, Rostock, Kiel, Greifswald, Stralsund, Luneberg, Stettin, Colberg, Wisby (celebrated for giving the maritime laws, the "*Wisbyska watter-recht*," to the Hansa) in Gothland, etc. Second, The Western cities, Cologne, with

the Dutch towns of Nimwegen, Stavern, Gröningen, Dordrecht, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Maestricht, Emden, Zutphen, etc., with Westphalian Soest, Osnabruck, Dortmund, Duisburg, Munster, Wesel, Minden, Paderborn, etc. Third, The Saxon cities, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Halle, Hildesheim, Goslar, Göttingen, Einbeck, Hanover, Hameln, Stade, Halberstadt, Quedlinburg, Aschersleben, Erfurt, Nordhausen, Muhlhausen, Zerbst, Stendal, Brandenburg, Frankfort on the Oder, Breslau, etc. Fourth, The Eastern cities, Dantzic (from Danske-wik, Danish place, having been first founded by the Danes), Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg, Culm, Landsberg, Riga, Reval, Pernau, etc. The German order of Hospitalers also sent its representatives to the diet; its close connection with the Hanse towns was partly due to its origin and partly to the position of Prussia, to which those towns sent German colonists and aid of every description, a union between that country and the Germanized mere of Brandenburg being still hindered by Wendian Pomerania and Poland.

Firmly as the Hospitalers and the Hansa were allied, the interests of the two parties were, nevertheless, totally at variance, that of the former being conquest, that of the latter commerce. The cities on the Elbe and Rhine required protection against the German princes; the maritime cities merely applied themselves to commerce. Those on the Baltic were continually engaged in disputes with the Flemish, who supported themselves by their manufactures and their alliance with Italy, while the more distant towns on the coast of the Baltic refused to interfere. At Bruges, the Hansa merely possessed a depot for their goods, which passed thence into the hands of the Italians. The Cologne merchants possessed a second great depot as early as 1203, in London, still known as Guildhall, the hall of the merchants' guild of Cologne. At a later period, the Hansa monopolized the whole commerce of England. At Bergen, in Norway, the Hansa possessed a third and extremely remarkable colony, three thousand Hanseatic merchants, masters, and apprentices living there like monks without any women.

The Hanseatic colonists were generally forbidden to marry, lest they should take possession of the country in which they lived and deprive the league of it. The fourth great depot was founded at Novgorod in the north of Russia, in 1277. By it the ancient commercial relations between the coasts of the Baltic and Asia were preserved, and the Hansa traded by land with Asia at first through Riga, but on the expulsion of the Tartars from Russia and the subjugation of Novgorod by the Czars, through Breslau, Erfurt, Magdeburg, and Leipzig. Germany and Europe were thus supplied with spices, silks, jewels, etc., from Asia, with furs, iron, and immense quantities of herrings from the North. France principally traded in salt, while Germany exported beer and wine, corn, linen, and arms; Bohemia, metals and precious stones; and Flanders, fine linen, and cloths of every description.

The ferocity of the Hungarians, Servians, and Wallachians, and the enmity of the Greeks, effectually closed the Danube, the natural outlet for the produce of the interior of Germany toward Asia. The traffic on this stream during the crusades raised Ulm, and, at a later period, Augsburg, to considerable importance. The traffic on the Rhine was far more considerable, notwithstanding the heavy customs levied by the barbarous princes and knights which the Rhenish league was annually compelled to oppose and put down by force. Cologne was the grand depot for the whole of the inland commerce. Goods were brought here from every quarter of the globe, and, according to a Hanseatic law, no merchant coming from the West, from France, Flanders, or Spain, was allowed to pass with his goods further than Cologne; none coming from the East, not even the Dutch, could mount, and none from the upper country descend, the Rhine beyond that city.—The highroads were naturally in a bad state, and infested with toll-gatherers and robbers. The merchants were compelled to purchase a safe-conduct along the worst roads, or to clear them by force of arms. Most of the roads were laid by the merchants with the permission of

well-disposed princes. Thus, for instance, the rich burgher, Henry Cunter of Botzen, laid the road across the rocks, until then impassable, on the Eisack, between Botzen and Brixen, in 1304; travelers, up to that period, having been compelled to make a wearisome detour through Meran and Jauffen.

The lace and cloth manufactures of the Flemish, which lent increased splendor to the courts, the wealthy, and the high-born, were the first that rose into note, the Hansa being merely occupied with trade and commercial monopoly. Ulm afterward attempted to compete with the Italian manufacturers; but Nuremberg, on account of her central position, less attracted by foreign commerce, became the first town of manufacturing repute in Germany.

The trade with the rich East, and the silver mines discovered in the tenth century in the Harz, in the twelfth, in the Erz Mountains in Bohemia, brought more money into circulation. The ancient Hohlpfennigs (*solidi*, shillings), of which there were twenty-two to a pound (and twelve *denarii* to a shilling), were replaced by the heavy Groschen (*solidi grossi*), of which there were sixty to a silver mark, and by the *albus* or white pennies, which varied in value. The working of the Bohemian mines in the fourteenth century brought the broad Prague Groschen into note; they were reckoned by scores, always by sixties, the cardinal number in Bohemia. The smaller copper coins, or Heller—from *hohl* (hollow), *halb* (half), or from the imperial free town, Halle—were weighed by the pound, the value of which was two *gülden*, which at a later period, when silver became more common, rose to three.

The Jews were greatly oppressed during this period. In the cities they were forced to dwell in certain narrow streets that were closed with iron gates at night. They were forbidden to purchase land, or to belong to any corporation. They were chiefly pawnbrokers and usurers, Christians being strictly prohibited by the church from taking interest on money lent.

CLXVIII. *The Peasantry*

IN Swabia and Saxony the free communes of peasantry, in the Alps, the Tyrol, Wurtemberg, Friesland, Ditmarsch, and some of less importance in the country around Hadel, Baireuth, and Hall, retained their liberties for the longest period. These communes had been originally either Gaue, districts, or hundreds under the jurisdiction of the counts and centners, and now resembled oases varying in extent, whither liberty had fled from the barren waste of vassalage. The peasants of Friesland and Switzerland, whose power equaled their love of liberty, gained the upper hand in those countries, while, in other countries, where their power was less, they remained unnoted and in obscurity.

Friesland was divided by the Fly (Zuyder See) into Western and Eastern Friesland. The former fell, in 1005, under the counts of Holland, and the attempt to suppress the liberties still proudly upheld by the peasantry proved fatal to more than one of their rulers. The latter enjoyed greater freedom under the bishops of Utrecht, Bremen, and Munster, whose spiritual authority they recognized, but administered their temporal affairs themselves, the interference of the clergy in temporal matters being prohibited by law. The Frieslanders, moreover, disregarded the decree of Gregory VII., concerning the celibacy of the clergy, and compelled their priests to marry for the better maintenance of morality. The ancient and still pagan popular assembly was maintained even in Christian times, or, at all events, was renewed. The different tribes assembled during Whitsuntide, at a place near Aurich, sanctified by three old oaks (the ancient Upstalesboom, tree of high justice), for the purpose of voting laws and of deliberating over the affairs of the country. During war-time, and more especially whenever strange fleets and pirates landed, barrels of pitch were set on fire, the alarm spread rapidly from village to village, and the people rose en masse to defend the coasts. It appears that the Marcellus

flood, as it was termed, which laid Friesland waste in 1219, and swallowed up whole villages, occasioned the reinstitution of the ancient meeting at the Upstaes-boom, in 1224. The numerous crusades undertaken by the Frisicians at this period were partly occasioned by this flood, as the crusaders were accompanied by their wives and children, and were, in reality, emigrants. In 1287, a second and still more destructive flood overwhelmed Friesland, and fifty thousand men, with their villages and a large portion of the country, sank into the sea, on the spot now occupied by the bay of Dollart. A fresh meeting at the Upstaes-boom followed in 1323, in which the older laws of the country were formed into a general code. The separate tribes among the Frisicians were independent freemen, as in the ancient days of Germany. They annually elected a judge (*Rediewa*), and a *Talemann* whose office it was to restrain the power of the former. Each of these tribes had its own laws, which were perfectly similar to those of ancient Germany. The most important of these are the *Hunsingoer* provincial law, the *Rustringer Asega-book*, and the *Brokmer Briefs*. The whole of the laws were popular resolutions; "so will the Brockmen, so have the people decided," were the simple words annexed to them. The common salutation between the people was, "*Eala fria Fresena!*" "Hail, free Friscian!" Nobility and stone houses came into vogue among them at a very late period.

In the rest of the countries of Germany, the peasantry were chiefly in a state of servitude. In the ancient *Gaue*, the *Graf* no longer stood at the head of free-born men and equals. He still exercised the penal judicature, the highest office of a judge, and bore the banner, the highest command during war; but these offices had become hereditary in his family. He was, moreover, lord over his *ministeriales*, who rendered him personal service; the protector of the few free and independent inhabitants of the *Gau*, who paid a tribute for the protection granted; the manorial and feudal lord of the vassals (peasants who kept horses, and instead of paying

ground-rent to their lord rendered him average service), and proprietor of the serfs. A governor or mayor was placed over the peasantry in the separate villages. Their local customs were, at a later period, sometimes termed village regulations, village rights, and were laid down by the peasantry themselves. In criminal matters, the punishments for the serfs were of a more disgraceful nature than those for the free-born. The ringleaders of mobs were so called, owing to their being condemned to carry a ring or wheel into the neighboring country, where they were put to death.¹ The German, generally speaking, preserved, even in servitude, more personal honor than the Slavonian; the peasants in Western Germany were in consequence more harassed with dues, while those in the Eastern provinces suffered a greater degree of personal ill-treatment. The former consequently possessed a certain degree of mental cultivation, nay, literature. The finest of the popular ballads were translated into the country dialect, and well known by every peasant, and numbers of legends and songs forgotten by the upper classes became traditional among the peasantry.—Heavy imposts and dues were levied at an early period. The nobles, more particularly since the crusades, appear to have become more luxurious, and, naturally, more needy. Several extraordinary customs, among others the *jus primæ noctis*, from which a conclusion has been drawn of the degraded state of the peasantry, have been greatly misunderstood; the honor of the female serfs was guarded by the laws, and, in Lombardy, a woman whose chastity was violated by the lord of the demesne was instantly enfranchised together with her husband, who thus acquired a right to revenge his injured honor. The misery of the peasantry was by no means so great during the Middle Ages as it became after the great peasant war in 1525.

The division of the ancient free nation into different classes with opposite views and interests, and particularly

¹ This was probably the remains of the heathen custom of crushing malefactors beneath the wheels of the sacred car.

the subordination of the peasantry to petty village proprietors, had in general a most pernicious effect, and chiefly contributed, since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, to lower the high spirit and national pride of the German. The parish priest belonged to the universal Christian church, the knight to the universal European aristocracy, the citizen was solely intent on his mercantile affairs, and the cities were, like islets on the deep, distinct spots on the surface of the land; these upper classes as ill replaced the ancient and great order of free peasantry, as did their energy and civilization the national vigor they had lost; and to this may justly be ascribed the misfortunes and disgrace with which the empire was subsequently overwhelmed.

CLXIX. *The Liberal Sciences*

THE emancipation of the sciences was fast approaching. The knowledge spread by the crusades had given rise to a general spirit of investigation and research. The monastic academies were placed on a more extensive footing, and transformed into universities. In Paris, independent of Rome, theology was particularly studied. Hence spread the Italian heresy of the pupils of Abelard, of Arnold of Brescia, and here was the birthplace of German mysticism, Hugh von Blankenburg being a professor in the Paris university, and abbot of the French monastery of St. Victoire. At Bologna, a school of law for the study of the resuscitated Roman law was formed, under the auspices of the Hohenstaufen, by the great law professor, Irnerius, and thus was laid the foundation to all the jurisprudence of later ages. At Salerno, the first celebrated school of medicine was founded. The medical science of the Arabs and Greeks was, after the crusades, also adopted by this school.

The study of the sciences and the university system were first introduced into Germany during the fourteenth century. Until then, Virgilius, bishop of Salzburg, and Albertus Magnus, formed the ideal of German erudition.

The historiographers, chiefly clergy, by whom the ancient Latin chronicles were continued, were extremely numerous. Besides Wippo, who wrote a biography of Conrad II., the most celebrated among them were, Hermannus Contractus, 1054, who was a lame Swabian count and afterward a monk at Reichenau; Marianus Scotus, a Scotchman by birth, and monk at Fulda, who, the legend relates, read and wrote by the light of his own finger; Adelbold, bishop of Utrecht, the author of the biography of Henry III. Henry IV. and his times have found many commentators, who generally wrote in a party spirit. The historians who favored the emperor were Waltram, Conrad of Utrecht, Benno of Misnia; those in favor of the pope, Hugo Blank and Deodatus, two German cardinals, Berthold of Constance, and the monk Bruno. The most veracious history of Gregory VII. was written by Paul Bernried. Some of the universal historians of this time acquired greater fame. Lambert of Aschaffenburg wrote an excellent German history in Latin, the style of which is superior to that of his predecessors. Sigebert de Gemblours, in 1112, besides a violent attack upon the emperor, Henry IV., wrote a Universal Chronicle. Hepidanus wrote the Alemannic Annals; Eckhart, a History of St. Gall. Numerous chronicles of Quedlinburg, Hamersleben, Hildesheim, also belong to this period. The celebrated Adam von Bremen (1076) is the most valuable writer of that age in reference to the histories of the northern archbishoprics, and of the pagan North. To him succeeded Wibald, chancellor to the emperor Lothar, and Frederick Barbarossa's ambassador at Constantinople. He was poisoned in Paphlagonia, in 1158, and left four hundred letters. Otto, bishop of Freysingen, the son of Leopold, Margrave of Austria, and stepbrother to the emperor, Conrad III., died in the same year after gaining great fame and left, besides a Universal Chronicle, a Biography of Barbarossa, and a History, since lost, of the House of Babenberg. Gunther, an Alsatian monk, wrote, in Latin verse, the exploits of Barbarossa in Upper Italy (Liguria), whence he received the

surname of Ligurinus. Barbarossa's deeds were also celebrated by Radewich, a canon of Freysingen. Godfred di Viterbo, who lived during his youth at Bamberg, and was probably a German, wrote a Universal Chronicle, up to the year 1186; another was written, as far as the reign of Conrad III., by Honorius von Augst; a third excellent Chronicle (*Chronica regia S. Pantaleonis*) was written by some monks at Cologne; a fourth, that of Magdeburg, by the "Chronographus Saxo"; and another by the monk Ekkehart at Bamberg, or Fulda. The best national and provincial historians were Cosmas, a deacon at Prague, who wrote a History of Bohemia, prior to 1125; Helmold, a priest at Bosow, near Lubeck, a celebrated Chronicle of the Slavonians, prior to 1170; an anonymous monk at Weingarten, the Chronicle of the Welfs; Conrad, abbot of Mœlk, a Chronicle of Austria; there were besides chronicles of the monastery of Muri in Switzerland, of Pegau in the Lausitz, of Liege, the Annals of Hildesheim, and other monastic chronicles of lesser importance.

In the thirteenth century, Oliverius, canon of Paderborn—who undertook a crusade against the Albigenses, accompanied another to Jerusalem, and, in 1227, died a cardinal—wrote a history of the Holy Land, and an account of the siege of Damietta. In 1226, Burchard of Biberach added a continuation to Ekkehart's Chronicle. Conrad von Lichtenau, abbot of Ursperg in 1240, wrote a great Universal Chronicle, the celebrated *Chronicon Urspergense*; another was written about the same time by a monk of Neumunster near Liege; a third by Albrecht von Stade, abbot of the same monastery prior to 1260. A celebrated Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors was written by Martinus Polonus, of Troppau in Silesia, in 1278. The Letters, Conversations, and Controversial Writings of Frederick II., and his Chancellor, Peter de Vineis, and the History of the Englishman, Matthæus Paris, particularly concerning Frederick II., are of great historical value. An ancient Erfurt Chronicle, the *Chronicon Schirense*, by the prior Conrad von Scheyern,

contains much interesting matter, besides several other lesser chronicles, those of Halberstadt, Lorch and Passau, St. Gall, Mayence, the Friscian Chronica. b. Emmonis et Manconis, etc.

The historians of the fourteenth century partly wrote chronicles in the spirit of the past age, as, for instance, Henry (Stero), a monk of Altaich, Sigfried, presbyter of Misnia, Matthias von Neuenburg, and Albert of Strasburg, partly learned collections, such as the *Cosmodromium* of Gobelinus Persona, deacon of Birkenfeld in Paderborn, in 1420, and the work *de Temporibus Memorabilibus* of Henry of Herford, who became a professor at Erfurt. Besides the *Annals* of Colmar, and those of Henry von Rebdorf, as well as the *Ecclesiastical History* of Henry von Diessenhofen, some of the city and provincial chronicles are in part excellent. These chronicles, as soon as the citizens took up the pen, were written in German; those written by the clergy are, without exception, in Latin. The most celebrated of the German writers were: Ottocar von Horneck, who composed a *History of Austria* in verse, which reached as far as 1309; Peter Suchenwirth of Austria, the author of ballads, in which he hands down to posterity the exploits of the heroes of his time; Ernst von Kirchberg, author of the *Mecklenburg Chronicle*, written in verse; Albrecht von Bardewich, of the *Lubeck Stades Chronicle*; Closener, of that of *Strasburg*; Koenigshoven, of that of *Alsace* up to 1386; Riedesel, of that of *Hesse*; and Gensbein, of that of *Limburg*, finally the *Chronicle of the sheriffs of Magdeburg*. In 1326, Peter von Duisburg penned, in Latin, the first *History of Prussia*, and Liebhold von Northa one of the frontier counts, and a catalogue of the archbishops of Cologne.

The knowledge of geography was greatly increased by the crusades. Some bold adventurers penetrated, even at that period, into the heart of Asia. The most celebrated travels are those of Marco Polo, the Venetian; but eighteen years earlier, in 1253, a German monk named Ruisbrock, frater Willielmus of the Netherlands, traveled through Great

Tartary as far as China, confirmed for the first time the account given by the ancients of the position of the Caspian Sea, and brought the first news of the existence of a native Asiatic people with whom the Germans were related by descent. See the works of Roger Bacon, Bergeron, and Humboldt. William von Baldensleben, a German nobleman and monk, traveled, in 1315, into the Holy Land, and thence into Tartary.

PART XIII

SUPREMACY OF THE POPE

CLXX. *Rudolf von Habsburg*

THE triumph of the pope over the emperor entirely changed the aspect of affairs. The emperors became the mere tools of a princely aristocracy under the ægis of the pope. Weakness and treason overwhelmed the ancient empire with disgrace. But, while the princes were engaged in appropriating to themselves the fragments of the shattered diadem, the people gradually acquired greater independence, formed themselves into federations without the aid of the princes, or into estates under them, and finally broke the papal yoke by the great Reformation.

Years had elapsed since the death of Frederick II.; his unfortunate son, Conrad, had been, like William, Richard, and Alfonso, a mere puppet on the throne. Alfonso was still living in Spain, completely absorbed in the study of astronomy. The people, forgetful of their ancient glory, again desired an emperor, and the legendary superstition concerning the return of Barbarossa once more revived. The lower and weaker classes throughout the empire were bitterly sensible of the want of the protection of the crown, but the election of a successor to the throne would have been

still longer neglected by the princes, had they not felt the necessity of setting a limit to the ambitious designs of Ottocar of Bohemia. A conference accordingly took place between them and the pope, and the election was not proceeded with until a fitting tool for their purposes had been discovered, and their prerogatives guarded by conditions and stipulations. The qualities required in the new emperor were courage and warlike habits, in order to insure a triumph over Ottocar; a certain degree of popularity, for the purpose of cajoling the people; and the blindest submission to the authority of the pope and princes.

This political tool was found in Rudolf, Count von Habsburg, who had been held at the font by Frederick II., a mark of distinction bestowed by that monarch for his father's faithful services. Rudolf had fought in Prussia (whither he had undertaken a crusade in expiation of the crime of burning down a convent during a feud with Basel) for Ottocar, by whom he had been knighted, and had, since that period, fought with equal bravery and skill for every party that chanced to suit his interests, at one moment aiding the nobles in their innumerable petty feuds against the cities of Strasburg and Basel, at another fighting under the banner of Strasburg, against the bishop and the nobility, or making head in his own cause against the abbot of St. Gall, and his own uncle, the Count von Kyburg, on account of a disputed inheritance, etc. Werner, archbishop of Mayence, whom Rudolf had escorted across the Alps, mediated in his favor with the pope. He had also personally recommended himself, as a zealous Guelph, to the pope, Gregory X., at Mugello in the Apennines, and, notwithstanding the feuds he had formerly carried on with the bishops and abbots, now played the part of a most humble servant of the church; he gained great fame, on one occasion, by leaping from his saddle and presenting his horse to a priest who was carrying the pyx. He agreed, if elected, to yield unconditional obedience to the pope, to renounce all claim upon or interference with Italy, and to enter into alliance with the House of Anjou.

Frederick von Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg (the ancestor of the electors of Brandenburg and of the royal line of Prussia), acted as his mediator with the princes, to three of the most powerful among whom he offered his daughters in marriage, to Louis of Pfalz-Bavaria (the cruel murderer of his first wife), Mechtilda, to Otto of Brandenburg, Hedwig, and to Albert of Saxony, Agnes. He moreover promised never to act, when emperor, without the consent of the princes, on every important occasion to obtain their sanction in writing, and confirmed them all, Ottocar of Bohemia excepted, in the possession of the territory belonging to the empire, and of the hereditary lands of the Staufen illegally seized by them. That the election of a new emperor by the pope and the princes merely hinged upon these conditions was perfectly natural, the whole power lying in their hands. This was the simple result of the downfall of the Staufen, and of the defeat of the Ghibellines.

Rudolf, who was engaged in a feud with the city of Basel when Frederick von Zollern arrived with the news of his election, instantly concluded peace with that city, marched down the Rhine, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1273. The real imperial crown and the scepter were still in Italy; the latter was supplied, by way of flattery to the church, by a crucifix. The ceremony of coronation was enhanced by that of the marriage of his three daughters. Henry of Bavaria, the brother of Louis, was, after some opposition, also won over, and his son Otto wedded to his fourth daughter, Catharina. The lower classes in the empire were, nevertheless, filled with discontent. The coalition between the great vassals inspired them with the deepest apprehension. They were, however, pacified. The lower nobility, who had rendered themselves hated by their rapine and insolence, were at strife with the towns. Rudolf, who had, up to this period, been a mere military adventurer, a robber-knight, now headed the great princes against his former associates, and reduced them all, even the wild Count Eberhard of Wurtemberg, to submission. This policy flattered the cities, which Rudolf

also sought to win by affability; he bestowed the dignity of knighthood with great solemnity on Jacob Muller of Zurich, in order to gain for his Swiss possessions the protection of the neighboring towns; he was, nevertheless, viewed with great mistrust by many of the cities.

Gregory X. hastened to bestow his benediction on his new creature, and, in order to deprive him at once of any pretext for a visit to Rome, and of effectually closing Italy against the Germans, came in person to Lausanne. Rudolf knelt humbly at the pontiff's feet and vowed unconditional obedience, an action he afterward attempted to palliate by a jest, saying that "Rome was the lion's den, into which all the footsteps entered, but whence none returned. He therefore preferred serving to fighting with the lion of the church."

The subjection of Ottocar had been one of the conditions annexed to the possession of the crown. The vote of the king of Bohemia, although that of the most powerful vassal of the empire, had therefore been omitted in the election, or rather, the whole scheme of Rudolf's accession had been managed too secretly and rapidly for interference on his part. Ottocar having rendered himself hateful by his severity, Stephen of Hungary, the son of Bela, made a fresh attempt in 1270 to gain possession of Styria. The Styrians, however, hated the Hungarian even more than the Bohemian yoke, and he was repulsed. While pursuing the fugitives across the Neusiedler Lake, the ice gave way and numbers of the Styrians were drowned. The Hungarians made fresh inroads, and Ottocar redoubled his tyranny. Among other acts of cruelty, he ordered the Styrian knight Seyfried von Mœhrenberg, whom sickness had hindered from coming to his rencontre, to be dragged at a horse's tail and then hanged by the feet. He also continued to seize the castles of the nobility, and threatened to cast the children of the expelled lords, whom he retained as hostages, from the roofs. The Austrians and Styrians were, consequently, fully justified in laying a solemn accusation against their bloodthirsty tyrant before the diet at Wurzburg in 1275. Bernhard

von Wolkersdorf and Hartnid von Wildon spoke in their name. Rudolf, after sealing a compact with Henry of Bavaria and with Stephen of Hungary, took the field at the head of a numerous army, and Ottocar, conscious of guilt and surrounded by foes, yielded, again ceded Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola to the empire, and was merely allowed to hold Bohemia and Moravia in fee of the emperor. In 1276, he came, attired in the royal robes of Bohemia, to an island on the Danube, where Rudolf, meanly clad as a horse-soldier, received him under a tent, which, while the king was kneeling at his feet, and taking the oath of fealty, was raised at a given signal, in order to degrade the monarch in the eyes of the people; a mean and dastardly action; and the reproach of vanity can alone be cast upon the emperor, the king of Bohemia having merely appeared in a garb suited to his dignity, on an occasion which, far from elevating his pride, deeply wounded it; nor can his high-spirited queen be blamed for inciting him to revenge the insult. Rudolf, meanwhile, sought to secure his footing in Austria. Unable openly to appropriate that country as family property, he gradually and separately won the nobility, cities, and bishops over to his interest, and induced the spiritual lords more especially to bestow a number of single fiefs on his sons, whom he by this means firmly settled in the country. Ottocar, instigated by his queen, Cunigunda, at length declared war, and marched at the head of his entire force against Rudolf. His plan of battle was betrayed to Rudolf by his best general, Milota von Diedicz, who thus revenged the execution of his brother. The Hungarians also came to Rudolf's assistance, and Ottocar, defeated on the Marchfeld near Vienna, in 1278, by treachery and superior numbers, fell by the hands of the two young Moehrenbergs, who sought him in the thickest of the fight.

Rudolf held a triumphal festival at Vienna, where the centagenarian knight, Otto von Haslau, broke a lance with one of his own great-grandsons. The greatest hilarity prevailed. Rudolf, meanwhile, cautiously made use of passing events in

order to enrich his family. His son Rudolf was elevated to the dukedom of Swabia, and his hand forced upon Agnes, the daughter of Ottocar. Bohemia's rightful heir, Wenzel, the infant son of Ottocar, was given up to Otto of Brandenburg, the emperor's son-in-law, by whom he was utterly neglected, while, under the title of his guardian, the duke plundered Bohemia and carried off wagonloads of silver and gold. Rudolf's second son, Albert, received the duchy of Austria and the hand of Elisabeth, daughter of Meinhard, count of Tyrol, who was created duke of Carinthia. Rudolf also gave his fifth daughter, Clementia, in marriage to Charles Martell, the son of Charles d'Anjou, by whom the last of the Hohenstaufen had been put to death at Naples. This marriage was a sacrifice made to the pope, whose jealousy of the increasing power of his house he thus sought to appease. In 1280, a Frenchman was raised, under the name of Martin IV., to the pontifical chair. The hatred borne by this pope to the Germans was such that he openly said that "he wished Germany was a pond full of fish, and he a pike, that he might swallow them all." Rudolf, nevertheless, deeply humbled himself before him.—The hand of Gutta, Rudolf's sixth daughter, was forced upon the youthful heir to Bohemia, who was ransomed at a heavy price by his subjects. His mother Cunigunda, had, meanwhile, married a Minnesinger named Zawitch, whom, on his release, he instantly ordered to execution, as a slight reparation for the injured honor of his father.

The emperor continued, henceforward, to suppress petty feuds in person, and traveled from one diet to another for the purpose of passing resolutions for the peace of the country, and from one province to another for that of enforcing peace. He was surnamed the living or wandering law (*lex animata*), and numbers of his magnanimous and just actions and sayings became proverbial. The people, ever inclined to judge by single actions, and equally blind to their motive and their tendency, valued a quaint anecdote concerning the emperor Rudolf far more highly than a great

institution founded by his predecessors, and the popular admiration of this chivalric emperor has been handed down from one generation to another. The empire, nevertheless, remained in a state bordering on anarchy, might was right, and Rudolf, notwithstanding his efforts, merely succeeded in re-establishing peace during short and broken intervals.

At Neuss on the Rhine (1285) appeared a certain Thile Coluf, or Frederick Holzschuh (wooden-shoe), who gave himself out as Frederick II., declaring that he had risen from the dead. He held a court for a short time at Wetzlar. In Swabia, Eberhard of Wurtemberg, Rudolf of Baden, and sixteen other counts renewed their predatory attacks upon the cities. They were reduced to submission in 1286, by the emperor, who burned the castle of Stuttgart to the ground. He also made a successful inroad into Burgundy, less for the purpose of connecting that country more closely with the empire than for that of extending, or at all events of protecting, his Swiss possessions on that side. In his old age, he married Agnes of Burgundy (Franche Comté), who was then in her fourteenth year,¹ and reduced his rivals, the Pfalzgraf Otto (a descendant of another branch of the same family), and the Count Reginald von Mumpelgard, to submission. The latter had attacked the people of Basel and taken their bishop prisoner in a bloody battle, in which a fourth of the citizens were slain. The partition among the counts, however, continued to exist, and the eastern side of ancient Burgundy was seized by Savoy, the Swiss confederation, and, above all, by Berne, which, even at that period, refused to furnish the imperial contingent, and made such a valiant defense that Rudolf was compelled to retire from before the walls. The bears in the city arms were placed in a bloody field in memory of the blood shed on this occasion. Rudolf merely advanced northward as far as Thuringia, where he destroyed sixty-six rob-

¹ The bishop of Spire, by whom she was conducted after the ceremony to the carriage, was so enchanted with her beauty that he kissed her, upon which the emperor said that it was the *Agnus Dei*, not Agnes, that he ought to kiss.

ber castles, and, in 1290, condemned twenty-nine of the robber knights to be hanged at Ilmenau.

The efforts of the emperor were confined to this narrow circle, while bloody feuds, with which he did not interfere, were carried on in every quarter of the empire. His chief object was the confirmation of the Austrian possessions to his family. He was also desirous of making the imperial crown hereditary, and of naming his son, Albert, his successor to the throne. The chagrin produced by the refusal of the princes hastened his death, which took place in 1291. Rudolf was tall and thin, had a hooked nose, which occasioned popular jokes at his expense, and a bald head.

The greatest anarchy and want of union prevailed throughout the other provinces of the empire, which had completely fallen a prey to petty interests and petty feuds. The Hansa alone sustained the dignity of the German name both at home and abroad, but merely in pursuance of its own interests, without reference to the weak and mean-spirited emperor. The Hanseatic flag ruled the Northern Ocean. Its fleets captured every vessel belonging to Erich, king of Norway, and blocked up the Scandinavian harbors. The treaty of Colmar, in 1285, confirmed its commercial monopoly. The whole of Northern Germany, meanwhile, senselessly wasted its strength in intestine strife. The counts of Holstein again attempted to subjugate the free Ditmarses, and suffered a shameful defeat in 1289. Florens V. of Holland revenged the death of his father on the Western Frisicians, over whom he gained a signal victory at Alkmaar, when the secret of his father's burial-place was discovered to him. His firm support of the citizens and peasantry rendered him the darling of the people, and roused the hatred of the nobles, who conspired against and murdered him in 1296.

A violent feud was at that time also carried on on the Rhine. Siegfried von Westerburg, who had succeeded Engelbert in the archbishopric of Cologne, opposed the Count Adolf VII. von Berg, who coveted the archbishopric for his

brother Conrad, and was, moreover, supported by the citizens. About this time, Adolf took possession of the duchy of Limburg in his right as grandson to Henry, duke of Limburg, who had inherited Berg; Count Reinhold of Guelders also claimed the duchy in right of his wife, another grandchild of the duke, Henry, and the archbishop, confederating with him, exerted his influence in his favor with the Netherland nobility, more particularly with Henry von Luxemburg, and Adolf von Nassau, the future emperor. Adolf von Berg, unable to meet the rising storm, ceded his claims upon Limburg to the brave duke, John of Brabant, and, aided by him and by the valiant citizens of Cologne, gave battle to the archbishop at Wæringen near that city, where Henry IV. of Luxemburg and his three brethren were slain, and the archbishop, Reinhold of Guelders, and Adolf von Nassau were taken prisoners in 1288. John retained possession of Limburg. Siegfried, the fomentor of the broil, was imprisoned, armed *cap-à-pie*, in a cage, where he remained in that state for seven years. On regaining his liberty, he feigned a reconciliation with Adolf von Berg, whom, in an unguarded moment, he suddenly captured, and sentenced to be stripped naked, smeared from head to foot with honey, and exposed in an iron cage to the stings of insects and to the open sky. After enduring this martyrdom for thirteen months, the wretched count was released, but shortly afterward died of the consequences. His sufferings were avenged by his brother and successor, William, who was victorious over the archbishop of Cologne, near Bonn, in 1296, and peace was finally made.—Feuds of a similar description, in which bishops played the chief part, were common throughout the empire.

In Misnia and Thuringia, Albert the Degenerate persecuted his wife, Margaretha, of the noble house of Hohenstaufen, and his children, with the most rancorous hatred, on account of the disappointment of the hopes of aggrandizement which had formed the sole motive of his alliance with that family. He even dispatched one of his servants to the

Wartburg for the purpose of assassinating her; but the countess, warned by him of his lord's intention, fled secretly (after biting her eldest son, Frederick, in the cheek, in token of the vengeance she intended to take) to Frankfort, where she shortly afterward died of grief. Albert persecuted his brother Dietrich with equal enmity. Their father, Henry (who fought so long with Magdeburg against the Brandenburgs), had divided his possessions between the two brothers, giving Misnia and Thuringia to Albert, Pleissner, with the margraviates of Landsberg and Lausitz, to Dietrich. Albert, when attempting to expel his brother, was defeated near Tennstedt, in 1275, by him and his ally, Conrad, archbishop of Magdeburg. Dietrich was surnamed the Thick, and was a Minnesinger. Conrad died in 1276; his successor, Gunther, was attacked by Otto, margrave of Brandenburg, whose brother, Erich, coveted the miter. Otto was defeated at Aken, and subsequently taken prisoner, 1278, in an engagement on the Sulz. He was imprisoned in a narrow chest. On being ransomed for an insignificant amount, he haughtily observed, "Had ye placed me armed cap-à-pie on horseback, and buried me in gold and silver coin to my lance's point, ye would have had a ransom worthy of me." He speedily infringed the treaty, and again took up arms. He was surnamed Otto with the Arrow, on account of a wound he had received in his head, whence the arrow-point could not be extracted, during the siege of Magdeburg. Bernhard, who succeeded Gunther in the archiepiscopal dignity, quarreled with Dietrich the Thick, who attempting to seize his person by stratagem, he withdrew to the castle of Werfen, which he fortified, in 1282. Dietrich expired shortly afterward without issue, and his possessions fell to Albert the Degenerate. Bernhard, however, avoided another bloody feud with Brandenburg by voluntarily resigning his dignity in Erich's favor. Erich had long been an object of hatred to the citizens, whose hearts he, nevertheless, afterward so completely gained, that being taken prisoner by Henry the Whimsical of Brunswick in a feud

concerning the possession of a castle, they voluntarily ransomed him, in return for which he bestowed upon them great privileges. He died in peace and honor.—Otto the Severe, of Brunswick-Luneburg (the Welfs were much weakened by sub-division), carried on a feud with the city of Hanover, in 1292. Saxon-Lauenburg was governed during the repeated absences of its duke, Albert, by the knight, Hermann Riebe, who practiced common highway robbery, and whose castles were destroyed by the citizens of Lubeck in 1291. In Nuremberg, two of the Burgrave's sons, who had hunted a child to death with their hounds, were killed by the scythe smiths in 1298.

In Mecklenburg, the princes were divided into several branches and were at feud not only with the cities of Rostock and Wismar, but also with each other. The aged prince, Henry von Gustrow, was murdered at Ribnitz, in 1291, by his sons, when hunting. Henry the Pilgrim, of Mecklenburg, accompanied Louis IX. of France, in 1276, to the Holy Land, where he was taken prisoner. During his prolonged absence, his wife, Anastasia, was ill-treated by her brother-in-law, John von Gadebusch, and saved the lives of her infant sons (the eldest of whom, Henry, was afterward surnamed the Lion) by concealing them beneath the gowns of her female attendants. These sons afterward avenged their mother's sufferings on their wicked uncle, whom they defeated, together with his allies, the princes of Brandenburg, Lauenburg, and Luneburg, on the Rambeeler beath, in 1283. The Pilgrim, after remaining for twenty-six years in slavery, was released, in 1302, by a miller's son from Gadebusch, who had once served under him as an arquebusier, and who, on being captured by the Turks, had embraced Mohammedanism, and been created sultan of Egypt. On the Pilgrim's return, no one recognized him. Two impostors, who had attempted to personate him, had been executed, one by fire, the other by water. His wild spirit, unbroken by long slavery, however, ere long proved his identity. Finding his son, the Lion, engaged in the siege

of the castle of Glessen, he instantly advised the erection of a high gallows at its foot, in sign of the disgraceful death that awaited its defenders. He also besieged the castle of Wismar; his efforts, however, proved unsuccessful, and he expired during the same year (1302). During his absence, his daughter, Luitgarde, had wedded Pribizlaw, duke of Poland, by whom she was condemned to be hanged on a bare suspicion of infidelity.—In Pomerania, the duke, Barnim IV., was stabbed by a certain Muckewitz, whose wife he had dishonored, 1295. The whole of Europe's chivalry protected the assassin.

CLXXI. *Adolf of Nassau*

RUDOLF of Swabia, the eldest son of the deceased emperor, died early, leaving an infant, Johannes, who was utterly neglected. The second son, Albert, inherited the Habsburg possessions; the third, Hartmann, was drowned in the Rhine near Lauffen.

Albert's conduct, even during his father's lifetime, made the Austrians and Styrians bitterly repent their acceptance of him as duke. In 1287, the citizens of Vienna revolting against his tyranny, he besieged them from the Calenberg, and when famine at length forced them to capitulate, deprived them of all their privileges, and condemned numbers of them to have their eyes and tongues torn out and their fingers chopped off. Iban, Count von Gunz, his equal in cruelty, who was supported by Hungary, alone ventured to set him at defiance. Ladislaw, king of Hungary, died in 1290. Albert had been invested at a venture by his father with that crown, but the Hungarians, headed by their new king, Andreas, invaded Austria, and compelled him to purchase a disgraceful peace by the cession of Presburg and Tirnau.¹ The brave Styrians stood by him in this emer-

¹ The Chron. Leobiense bitterly reproaches Albert with the devastation caused by the Hungarians: "Talis pestilentia sex septimanis in terra ista duravit. Dum superbit impius, incenditur pauper."

gency, nor was it until peace had been concluded that they brought forward their grievances, and accused him of issuing base coin, of robbing private individuals, and of countenancing the licentious practices of his stadtholder, Henry, abbot of Admont. Albert, no longer in awe of the Hungarians, treated the complainants with contempt, upon which Frederick von Stubenberg exclaimed, that "they had done wrong in expelling Ottocar, having merely exchanged one tyrant for another." Hartnid von Wildon, who had at first sued the Habsburgs for protection, now again took up arms against them. Admont was taken by storm, and the abbot expelled. Rudolf, archbishop of Salzburg, protecting the mountaineers, Albert invited him insidiously to Vienna, where he caused him to be poisoned. His successor, Conrad, and Otto of Bavaria, Albert's son-in-law, from whom he had withheld the dowry, promised their aid to the Styrians. Albert, however, obviated their plans, by causing the Alpine passes to be cleared of the snow during the winter, and suddenly attacked the rebellious nobles: Stubenberg was taken prisoner. The nobles were, for the most part, compelled to surrender their castles to the duke, who, on this occasion, acted with unwonted lenity, his object being to conciliate the people and to guard his rear while attempting to gain possession of the imperial throne.

The helm of the state had fallen into the most worthless hands. The creatures of the pope and of France, who had risen to power since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, emulated each other in baseness and servility. Gerhard, archbishop of Mayence, the arch-chancellor of the empire in the name of the pope, craftily managed the election of a successor to the late emperor, by inducing the electors, who were divided in their choice, to commit it to him alone, and deceived them all by placing his own cousin, Adolf, count of Nassau, whom none had thought of as emperor, on the throne, in 1291. Albert was the most deeply deceived, Gerhard having spared no flattery, and even invited him, as he believed, to his own coronation. On learning, midway, the election of Adolf, he

prudently yielded to circumstances, and took the oath of fealty to the new emperor at Oppenheim, but refused the proposal of affiancing their children. An open contest for the possession of the throne would have raised too many and too powerful foes, he therefore patiently waited until, as he hoped, Adolf might create enemies against himself, and commit errors capable of being turned to advantage.

The emperor Adolf was a poor count, brave, but a slave to the lowest debauchery, and misguided by his intriguing cousin of Mayence, whose chief object in electing him was the aggrandizement of the house of Nassau, by the increase of its territorial possessions, the first step to which was the promotion of intermarriages with the great families. Rudolf, the son of Adolf, consequently, wedded Jutta of Bohemia, and his daughter, Mechtilda, the youthful Pfalzgraf, Rudolf the Stammerer. England offered money for the purpose of engaging the emperor on her side against France. Adolf, however, had the meanness to accept it, and instead of forwarding the interests of England, purchased with it Misnia and Thuringia from Albert the Degenerate. This duke viewed his own offspring with the deadliest hatred. His unfortunate children, Frederick, with the bitten cheek; and Diezmann, fled from their cruel parent, who craftily regained possession of them, and would have starved them to death had not his own servants taken compassion upon them and saved their lives. On attaining manhood, they took up arms against their unnatural father, and, supported by the enraged people, took him prisoner. By the persuasions of Cunna von Isenburg, his mistress, he was induced to offer his possessions for sale to the emperor, for the sake of disinheriting his sons, a proposal greedily accepted by Adolf, who also aided him with troops against his children. The greatest cruelties were practiced by the imperial forces. On one occasion, they pitched and feathered two women, and drove them through their camp. The complaints of the Count von Hohenstein were unheeded by the emperor, by whom license was encouraged to such a degree that the Thuringians, ex-

cited to frenzy, exercised the most horrid barbarities on every imperialist who chanced to fall into their hands. In Muhlhausen, where the emperor was peaceably received, he behaved with such brutality that the citizens expelled him from the city. After a long struggle, Frederick and Diezmann were compelled to seek safety in flight.

Albert's apparent disgrace by the election of Adolf raised a party against him in his oldest hereditary possessions. The peasants of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, formed a defensive alliance, 1291; while William, abbot of St. Gall, an ancient foe to the house of Habsburg, the bishop of Constance, the counts of Savoy, Montfort, Nellenburg, and the city of Zurich, in the hope of freeing themselves from their encroaching neighbor, by placing themselves under the protection of the emperor, attacked Albert's town, Winterthur; Count Hugh von Werdenberg, the one-eyed, armed the Habsburg vassals in defense, and Albert, speedily appearing in person, laid siege to Zurich, but as quickly retreated in order to quell a revolt to his rear among the Styrians, on whom he took a fearful revenge, but was compelled to make peace, his son-in-law, Louis of Carinthia, being taken prisoner by the rebels. Louis was exchanged for Stubenberg. Salzburg and Bavaria again took part with Styria, and a diet was held at Trubensee in 1292. The nobles demanded the dismissal of his governors, von Landenberg and Waldsee, who harassed the country. Albert refused, and bade them defiance; Adolf remained an indifferent spectator; Salzburg and Bavaria were lukewarm; the citizens of Vienna also refused to aid the nobility, by whom they had formerly been deserted, and Albert again succeeded in quelling the insurrection.

Adolf, roused either by the derision with which he was treated by his subjects, by whom he was nicknamed the Priest-king, or weary of his fetters, imprudently quarreled with his cousin Gerhard, and with Wenzel of Bohemia, who claimed Pleissen as his share of the Misnian booty. Albert had no sooner quelled the sedition in his hereditary lands,

and entered into amicable relations with Bohemia and Hungary, than Gerhard, fearing lest he might share the fate with which the universally and justly detested emperor was threatened, resolved to abandon him, and to be the first to lay the crown of Germany at his rival's feet. Under pretext of solemnizing the coronation of the youthful king of Bohemia, he visited Prague with the whole of his retinue, and there devised measures with Albert, who also arrived with a crowd of adherents. The duke even threw himself on his knees before Wenzel, in order to sue for his vote. His party was very numerous; there were 190,000 horses in the city. Every street was hung with purple; in the new market-place the wine flowed from a fountain. Albert thence visited Presburg in 1297, for the purpose of wedding his daughter, Agnes, to his ancient enemy, Andreas of Hungary. Thus secure to the rear, and followed by numerous and powerful adherents, he advanced to the Rhine; Salzburg joined his party, Bavaria remained tranquil, Wurtemberg and numbers of the Swabian nobility ranged themselves beneath his standard. Adolf, although merely aided by the Pfalzgraf Rudolf and by the cities, marched boldly against his antagonist, whom he compelled to retreat up the Rhine, upon which Otto of Bavaria declared in his favor, and defeated Albert's party in a nocturnal engagement near Obern-dorf, in which Albert's uncle and trusty counselor, the aged Count von Heigerloch, was slain. Notwithstanding this disaster, Gerhard convoked the electors or their deputies to Mayence, deposed his cousin, and proclaimed Albert emperor. Adolf's unworthy conduct served as an excellent pretext for that of the electors whose votes had been bought. The two armies watched each other for some time on the Upper Rhine; Albert threw himself into Strasburg, whose gates were opened to him by the bishop, and then into the Pfalz, whither he was followed by Adolf, who came up with him at the foot of the Donnerberg, at a spot known as the Hasenbuhel; upon which Albert spread a report that he and Gerhard had been slain, and making a feigned retreat, Adolf

hastily pursued with his cavalry, and was no sooner separated from his infantry than Albert suddenly turned and fell upon him. According to his orders his soldiery stabbed the horses of the enemy, so that most of the cavalry was speedily dismounted and compelled to fight in their heavy armor on foot. Adolf, whose horse had been killed under him, and who had lost his helmet, searched unremittingly for his rival, and after attacking several knights disguised in Albert's armor, was slain, when faint and weary, as Albert himself confessed, not by his hand, as has often been believed, but by that of the Raugraf' (1298)

CLXXII. *Albert the First*

THIS monster had at length, when hoary with age, attained his joyless aim. A life of intrigue, danger, and crime had lent an expression of gloom and severity to his countenance, which even the brilliance and splendor of his coronation at Nuremberg could not dispel, and he cruelly repulsed Adolf's unhappy widow, who fell at his feet to beg the life of her son Ruprecht, who had been taken prisoner in the battle. Agnes of Burgundy, his stepmother, was reduced by him to poverty, and at length found a refuge among her relations at Dijon. His first act on mounting the throne was directed against the youthful king of Bohemia, whose pride he sought to humble. During the coronation, Wenzel had performed the office of cup-bearer, mounted on horseback, his crown upon his head, in order to preserve his dignity while performing that menial office. The emperor also levied a large sum upon the cities of Franconia on account of the murder of the Jews, caused by the 'desecration of the holy wafer by one of their nation.

An opportunity at this time offered for intermeddling with the foreign policy of the empire, so long and so shamefully neglected. The pope, Boniface VIII., had quarreled

¹ A title borne by one of the Rhenish Grafs or Counts.—*Trans.*

with Philip the Handsome of France, who had attempted to use him as his tool. This pope was also highly displeased with Albert for having accepted the crown without paying homage to him as to his liege. "I am the emperor," wrote the pope to him. Upon this Albert confederated with Philip against the pope, met his new ally at Tours, where he affianced his son, Rudolf, with the Princess Blanca, Philip's daughter, and solemnly invested Philip himself with the Arelat, which had in fact been long severed from the empire.¹ This alliance with France greatly diminished the influence and roused the anger of Gerhard of Mayence; Albert, however, acted with extreme prudence by reconciling the cities, until now inimical to him, by the abolition of the Rhenish customs, whence the ecclesiastical princes, and, more particularly, Gerhard, had derived great wealth. Gerhard formed a papal party against him by confederating with his neighbors of Cologne and Treves, and with the Pfalzgraf Rudolf, Adolf's ancient ally; but Albert was supported by the cities, by Reinhold the Warlike, count of Guelders, whose daughter he wedded to his son Frederick, and by French troops, who laid waste the beautiful Rhenish provinces. The archbishops, last of all that of Treves, which endured a hard siege, were compelled to yield. Fresh intrigues were meanwhile carried on in the Netherlands. John, the last count of Holland, and his wife were poisoned (1299), and John d'Avesnes, count in the Hennegau, the son of a sister of the emperor William, backed by France, laid claim to the inheritance, while Albert, on the other hand, attempted to seize the fiefs of the empire for the purpose of bestowing them on his sons. When on a visit, with this view, to Reinhold of Guelders at Nimwegen, he ran the greatest danger of being seized by John d'Avesnes, who, in concert with France, intended to force him to concede to his desires, or,

¹ *Cæsar Gallo remisit, quicquid Imperio Germanico majoris illius in regno Arelatensi eripuisse Germani ægre ferebant. — Petri Saxii pontif. Arelatense, ad an. 1294.* Albert was also reproached for being in the pay of France, to which he replied, "That is no disgrace, for was not Adolf in that of England!"

it is even probable, to remove him from Philip's path, that monarch cherishing the hope of procuring the crown of Germany for his own brother, Charles, the electors being base enough to encourage the project. Reinhold was also on his part deeply offended on account of Albert's refusal to wed his son Frederick—who afterward mounted the imperial throne—with his daughter, by whom the emperor was generously saved. He escaped by her assistance from Nimwegen, but was compelled to cede Holland to John d'Avesnes.

Albert, thus deceived by France, now turned to the pope, who had just proclaimed the great jubilee. Rome was thronged with pilgrims, and the wealth poured on the altars was so enormous that the gold was absolutely collected thence with rakes. By a disgraceful formula, Albert recognized the pope's supremacy, and vowed to procure the crown of Hungary, vacant since the death of Andreas in 1301, for the French house of Anjou in Naples, which was more submissive to the pontiff than Philip the Handsome. Although Albert's real object had been to place the crown of Hungary on his own head, he sacrificed his own hopes for the sake of gaining the favor of the mighty pontiff, and from the dread of being overpowered by his numerous enemies; for Wenzel of Bohemia also claimed Hungary, and at length openly vented his long-concealed wrath upon him. The houses of Habsburg and of Anjou, united beneath the pope, invaded Bohemia with an immense army of half-pagan Cumans, who devastated not only Bohemia but Austria. They were defeated by Wenzel before Kuttenberg, and in Austria the Count von Ortenburg raised the country and deprived the plunderers of their booty. Wenzel died suddenly, bequeathing, with his last breath, his claims upon Hungary to Otto of Bavaria, who rode alone and in disguise, with the sacred crown and scepter of Hungary in his pocket, through Austria to that country, where he found Charles Robert of Naples already firmly seated on the throne. He gained but few adherents, and was taken prisoner. It is a remarkable fact, that the Saxons of Siebenburg twice revolted against

the new French dynasty on the throne of Hungary; in 1325, under their count, Henning von Petersdorf, who was defeated and murdered by the wild Cumans, and in 1342, when the king, Louis, entered their country at the head of a large army and succeeded in conciliating them.

The example of the French monarch inspired Albert with a desire for absolute sovereignty, at all events, in his hereditary lands, and with a determination to break the power of the bishops, the nobility, and the cities. With this intent, he purchased a countless number of small estates, fiefs, privileges, from the other princes, bishops, and even from knights; the smallest portion of land, the meanest prerogative that could in any way increase his territory or his sovereign rule, was not overlooked. He drew the nobles from their castles, and formed them into a brilliant cortege around his person. He also introduced uniforms, and formed five hundred knights, who were distinguished by a particular dress, into a sort of body-guard. He placed governors over the lands, towns, and castles he had either purchased or which had been ceded to him, and also carefully guarded against the division of the Habsburg possessions among the various members of the family, withholding, for that purpose, from his youthful nephew, Johannes, the allods to which he had a right in Switzerland. His encroachments brought him in collision with Eberhard of Wurtemberg, who was also engaged, although on a smaller scale, in increasing his family possessions. Albert, however, seduced by the prospect of greater gain, quickly terminated this feud, in order to turn his undivided attention upon Thuringia and Meissen, where he hoped to reinstate himself, and which he intended, together with Bohemia, to annex to his hereditary estates. Wenzel's son, the last of the ancient race of Przmizl, was murdered by the magnates of the kingdom at Olmutz in 1305. He had amused himself by breaking pots, to each of which he gave the name of a Bohemian noble, and had, by these means, incurred their suspicions. Albert's son, Rudolf, whose wife, Bianca, was dead, was in-

stantly compelled to espouse Elisabeth, the widow of Wenzel, who died shortly afterward, and Henry of Carinthia, who had married one of Wenzel's sisters, laid claim to the throne. Frederick of Thuringia also valiantly defended his inheritance.

Frederick with the bitten cheek, whose gigantic iron armor is still preserved in the Wartburg, the descendant, on the female line, by his mother, Margaretha, from the Hohenstaufen, had, after a brave resistance, been deprived of Misnia and Thuringia. He took refuge in Italy, the country of his great ancestors, where he was received by the Ghibellines with open arms; the example of Conradin, however, deterred them from opposing a foe their superior in power. Frederick returned to Germany, and, on the death of the emperor Adolf, again fixed himself in Thuringia. His now aged father had, on the death of his mistress, Cunna, married the wealthy widow of the Count von Arnshove, whose daughter, Elisabeth, a young woman of surpassing beauty, was loved and carried off by Frederick. His marriage with his stepsister now served as a pretext to the emperor for renewing his claims, as Adolf's successor, on Thuringia, and Frederick was once more expelled from the Wartburg.¹ The Thuringians, nevertheless, crowded beneath the standard of their former darling, and Albert was defeated at Luchau in 1307, and a second time at Borna in 1309. The people whose rights were no longer protected against the usurpations of the princes by the emperor, who, moreover, abused the authority of the crown in order to tyrannize over them, now aided the princes against their sovereign. Frederick reconquered the whole of his inheritance, with the exception of the Lausitz, which his brother, Diezmann, had ceded to Brandenburg.

¹ With his newborn daughter, who cried incessantly during their flight; although the enemy was close at hand, he stopped and asked the nurse what ailed the babe. The nurse replied, "My lord, she will not be quiet until she is suckled"; so he ordered his men to halt, saying, "My child shall have her desire though it cost me all Thuringia"; and, drawing his men up in front, remained by his babe's side until she had been suckled.—*Rohle*.

The pretensions of the Habsburgs to Bohemia sank on the death of Rudolf, Albert having rendered himself so universally hated that the Bohemian estates unanimously refused to acknowledge one of that obnoxious family as their sovereign, and on Tobias von Bechin venturing to speak in Albert's favor, Ulrich von Lichtenstein ran him through the body with his sword. The crown was bestowed upon Henry of Carinthia. Albert marched against Prague, and revenged himself by laying the land waste, but was compelled to retreat. Disappointed in his hopes in this quarter, he repaired to Upper Swabia, where the greatest danger threatened. His former expedition against Zurich was still fresh in the minds of the people; his neighbors, jealous of his power, and the people, harassed by his provincial governors, viewed him with the deadliest hatred. His nephew, Johannes, im-bittered against him by his unjust deprivation of the ancient ancestral property in Switzerland, which he claimed as son of the eldest brother, conspired against him with some Swabian knights, separated him, when crossing the Reuss not far from the ancient castle of Habsburg, from his retinue, and gave the signal for the bloody deed. "How long is this corpse still to ride?" inquired von Wart. "Do your purpose!" shouted Johannes in reply; and in an instant von Eschenbach had seized the emperor's bridle, while von Palm on one side, and von Wart on the other, simultaneously dealt him a blow on the head. The aged emperor cried out for assistance to his nephew, who ran his sword through his back, and he expired on the roadside, in the arms of an old woman, before his warlike son, Leopold, who was on the opposite bank of the Reuss, could cross the stream (1308). This emperor had six sons, Rudolf, Frederick the Handsome, Leopold the Glorious, Albert the lame, Henry the Amiable, Otto the Joyous; and five daughters.

CLXXIII. *The Encroachments of France—The Battle of Spurs*

IN France, Philip the Handsome realized the projects vainly attempted by the Hohenstaufen in Germany; he suppressed, in the interior, the independence of the great vassals, gave to his kingdom union and peace, and extended his influence abroad. The popes, who had formerly cast themselves into the arms of the French monarchs, were now unable to escape from their toils. It was now in vain that Boniface VIII. declared himself, in the Bull *unam sanctam*, lord over every human creature, “*subesse Pontifici Romæ, omnem creaturam humanam*,” etc.; the proud pontiff, then in his eightieth year, was, at Philip’s command, seized in Rome herself by some French knights, assisted by Romans, and so ill-treated that he died mad in 1303. His successor, Benedict XI., bent before Philip, but afterward attempting to shake off his fetters, was removed by poison. The next pope, Clement V., was a Frenchman by birth, and so completely Philip’s tool that he removed his seat of government from Rome to Avignon, which belonged to Arelat, and appertained to the house of Anjou; in 1348 the city and territory of Avignon were sold by John of Naples forever to the pope. Philip, at that period, abolished the rich and powerful order of Templars, and caused the grand-master, Molay, and several knights, whom he had insidiously induced to visit France, to be burned alive. This order had greatly supported the aristocracy against the throne, and was, consequently, dangerous to monarchical power; and the pope to whom it was useful as a counterpoise against the authority of the sovereigns, weakly allowed it to be annihilated. The half-Mahometan or Græco-gnostic heresy of the Templars served as an excuse for their destruction. The principal part of their possessions was inherited by the knights of St. John, who fixed themselves in the island of Rhodes.

Philip also revived his former project of annexing Flan-

ders, which at that time had been raised by German industry, and by the national spirit of its rulers, above every other country in the world in prosperity and civilization, immediately to France, its mere feudal dependence on that kingdom and its independent government (by its own counts and its own laws) putting it out of his power to drain it as he desired by means of governors and tax-gatherers.

Guillaume de Dampierre bequeathed Flanders to his son, Guido the Incapable, who attempted to place the wealthy towns under contribution, which gave rise to the revolt at Bruges, the great Moorlemaey in 1282. He also refused to take the oath of fealty for Imperial Flanders to the emperor Rudolf, and was on that account placed under the interdict by the pope, Rudolf's patron. This event was turned to advantage by Philip, who raised a party in his favor in that country. Guido sought the protection of England, and offered his daughter, Philippa, in marriage to the English prince, Edward, but, blinded by Philip's dexterous flattery, was persuaded to visit Paris, accompanied by his daughter and the flower of the Flemish nobility in 1296, where they were all retained prisoners. Guido, by dint of great promises, regained his liberty; Edward I. of England offered to negotiate terms for him, and, in order to gain the emperor Adolf over to his interest, gave him a large sum of money, of which, as has already been seen, he made such a bad use. It was in vain that the princes of Brabant, Juliers, and Holland took up arms; the emperor, whom they expected to join them, never appeared. Everything went wrong; Edward marched singly in advance with his English troops and was defeated; the Dutch followed and suffered the same fate at Furnes, where William, count of Juliers, was taken prisoner, in 1297. The defeated English, reduced to extreme want, plundered the country, and three hundred English knights were slain by the enraged citizens of Ghent. Guido again submitted to the French king, who, contrary, to his plighted word, threw him into close imprisonment.

Philip now hastened to gain over by flattery the clergy

and the great burgher families in the Flemish towns, whom the papal interdict and the imposition of taxes had rendered inimical to Guido, in the hope of inducing the whole of Flanders by their aid to acknowledge him as their sovereign prince, and of thus setting aside the ruling families. The adherents to the royal party in Flanders were denominated Liliards, from the lily in the arms of France. The scheme proved successful, and Philip, entering Flanders at the head of a large army, received the oath of fealty from the different towns on his route. The queen, on reaching Bruges, was welcomed by six hundred of the wives of the citizens, all of whom equaling or surpassing her in the richness of their apparel, she angrily exclaimed, "I expected to see but one queen, and here are six hundred!" The Liliards found their expectations deceived, Philip depriving them of the power they enjoyed, and attempting not only to drain the rich country of its wealth, but also to place the Flemish, habituated to liberty and self-government, under the yoke of a despotic French stadtholder, Jacques de Chatillon. His treatment of Philippa, Guido's daughter, whom he dishonored in order to compel her father to cede Flanders, chiefly contributed to imbitter the minds of the people against him, and they rose to a man, resolved to avenge their disgrace and to cast off the yoke of the foreigner. Peter de Konink, the head of the corporation of clothiers at Bruges, being arrested, together with twenty-five of his fellows, for refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the French, the people set him free, and, placing him at their head, expelled the traitorous town-council, the stadtholder Chatillon, and all the French, from the city. Chatillon, however, quickly assembled a larger force, and again forced his way into the city, whence Peter de Konink was compelled to retreat. The people of Ghent had, meanwhile, followed the example of the citizens of Bruges, and expelled their town-council and all the French. The news of this proceeding no sooner reached Bruges than a fresh tumult ensued. One Breyel, a butcher, having killed a servant of Mons. d'Epinoi, the French commandant at

Male, not far from Bruges, the commandant attempted to seize him, but Breyel defended himself with the greatest fury, and the citizens rushing to his assistance, Mons. d'Epinoi and every Frenchman in Male were murdered. Chatillon, in the meantime, negotiated matters with the citizens of Ghent, whom he induced by promises to oppose the people of Bruges. In consequence of this, on the arrival of Peter de Konink at the head of a mob before Ghent, the gates were closed against him, and he returned to Bruges, where, finding the gates also closed, he forced his way into the city, and shouting "Strike the false foreigners down!" murdered every Frenchman whom he encountered in the streets, and stationed his men at every gate and corner with the watchword, "Schild en Vriend," which no Frenchman could pronounce, so that all who had concealed themselves and attempted to get away secretly were by that means discovered and killed. This massacre took place the 14th of May, 1302. Chatillon escaped by swimming through the city moat. Ghent, where the Lihards triumphed, remained true to the treaty. The citizens and peasantry, however, flocked from every quarter to Peter de Konink. Guido, a son of the captive count, also arrived, and William of Juliers, the younger brother of the William of Juliers taken prisoner at Furnes, and canon at Mæstricht, abandoned his church in order to place himself at the head of the citizens. The Flemish nobility (with the exception of those who were imprisoned at Paris), and Godfred of Brabant, were, however, induced, by their hatred of the citizens, to side with France. Philip, impatient to revenge the insults heaped upon his stadtholder, dispatched forty-seven thousand men, the flower of the French chivalry, under the command of Robert d'Artois, against the little army of undisciplined citizens and peasants, led by a priest. At Kortryk, on the 11th of July, 1302, William of Juliers, guarded by a deep fosse, awaited the onset of the enemy. Guido, too young to take the command in person, had delegated it to William, who, as commander-in-chief, had, on the rise of

that bloody day, solemnly bestowed the honor of knighthood on Peter, the weaver, and Breyel, the butcher. Robert d'Artois, at sight of this undisciplined mob, treated the advice of the constable of Nesle, who attempted to dissuade him from making too rash an onset, with contempt, and hinted that his connection by marriage with Guido cooled his zeal in the French cause. The constable, touched to the quick by this insult, angrily exclaimed, "Well! I will lead you further than you will ever return!" and dashing furiously forward at the head of the knights, plunged headlong into the muddy fosse, which was quickly filled with the dead bodies of men and horses, those in advance being pushed by those behind, who, blinded by the dust, could not see what took place in front. At this moment, the Flemish infantry advanced and bore down all before them. No quarter was given. The noble constable fell, Artois begged for his life, but his antagonists replied to his entreaties, "There is no nobleman here to understand your gibberish!" and struck him down. With him fell the bravest and best of France's chivalry, and twenty thousand men. Two German princes, Godfred of Brabant and Theobald of Lothringia, who fought under French colors, found here a dishonorable death. The Brabant knights, in the hope of saving their lives, flung themselves from horseback, and joined in the Flemish war-cry, "*Vlaendren ende Leu!*". The Flemish, among whom there were no knights, quickly discovered the stratagem, and instantly shouted, "Down with all who wear spurs!" The victors collected five thousand golden spurs belonging to the princes and knights who had fallen on this occasion, and hung them as trophies in the church of Kortryk. This dreadful day was thence called "The battle of spurs."

William of Juliers, who had fought until forced, from very weariness, to be carried from the field, returned to his solitary cell. Philip, deeply humbled, sent his prisoner, Count Guido, to negotiate terms, but the proud victor refused to listen, and Guido nobly returned to his prison, where he died, at a great age, not long after. John II.,

the new duke of Brabant, and William, bishop of Utrecht, meanwhile, joined the Flemish, and the German party became so powerful that it was resolved to take vengeance on John d'Avesnes, who had until now been intriguing in favor of France against the emperor, Albert, and had taken possession of Holland. John lay, at that time, sick. His son, William III., was defeated near the Ziriksee, in 1304; the whole of Holland was conquered. The cruelty of the Flemish, however, roused the people to rebellion. Witte von Hamsteede, a natural son of the old Count Floris, and who shared his father's popularity, raised the standard of revolt; the women even fought in defense of their country, and the Flemish suffered a complete defeat near Harlem. Philip of France, who had shortly before bribed the emperor, to whose son, Rudolf, he had given his daughter, Blanche, in marriage, dispatched a great fleet under Grimaldi, a Genoese, and a large land army, against the Flemish, for the purpose of reducing them to subjection, and of revenging the disaster at Kortryk. Grimaldi was victorious, and took Guido the younger prisoner. Upon this, William of Juliers again quitted his cloister, replaced himself at the head of the Flemish, fought with unexampled bravery at Mons-en-puelle, captured the Oriflamme, and almost succeeded in taking the king, who was wounded and fled. At this moment he was himself deprived of life. Philip, who had retreated, quickly returned to the charge, but, on beholding the immense multitude confronting him, exclaimed: "Do the skies rain with Flemish!" and refused to hazard another engagement. Peace was negotiated by John of Brabant. Robert (surnamed de Bethune), the eldest son of Guido the elder, was reinstated in Flanders, but ceded Ryssel, Douai, and Lille to Philip.

John of Brabant, the negotiator of the peace, had to quell disturbances in his own country. The cities of Brabant rivaled those of Flanders in industry and wealth, and rose before long against the nobility, who, with natural jealousy, sought to diminish their privileges. Mechlin, Louvain,

and Brussels expelled the nobles from their walls, destroyed their houses, and even closed the gates against the duke, who took part with the nobility. The contest began in 1303, and, after long negotiation, was terminated in 1312, by the laws of Kortenbergh, by which great privileges were secured to the cities.

CLXXIV. *William Tell and the Swiss*

THE Alpine peasantry also rose in defense of their liberties, not, as the citizens in Flanders, against the foreign invader, but against their domestic tyrants. These simultaneous events sprang from a similar origin, being produced by the reaction of the popular spirit in Germany against the misery and disgrace that had fallen like a curse upon the empire since the fall of the Hohenstaufen. The peasantry, no longer protected and counseled by a wise and magnanimous emperor, betrayed and sold to the foreigner, and oppressed by internal tyranny, were compelled to seek for aid in their own resources, but their efforts, like those of unconscious instinct, were solitary and uncombined, and consequently without material result. As a whole, the German nation was animated by no national spirit pervading and combining each kindred race, but was so completely absorbed in local and provincial interests that the inhabitant of one part of the empire remained ignorant of and indifferent to the events that took place among his brethren in another.

Around the beautiful lake formed by the Reuss, on its descent from the St. Gothard, lie the four forest towns, as they are called, and from which this lake takes its name—vier Waldstætter See—the lake of the four cantons—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Lucerne. The shepherds in the valley of Uri were originally free-born Alemanni, who held their lands in fee of the nunnery at Zurich, and the monastery at Wettingen in the Aargau, but preserved their ancient communal right of self-government, a situation correspond-

ing with that of the free Friscians and Ditmarses, who were subordinate to the bishops of Utrecht and Bremen. The shepherds of Schwyz and Unterwalden were claimed as serfs by the counts of Habsburg, a claim they stoutly opposed, appealing to their ancient liberties, and to a document drawn up in confirmation thereof by the emperor, Frederick II., and ratified by the emperor Adolf. They consequently held with the free peasants of Uri, with whom they had formerly been allied. (Lucerne was incontestably Habsburgian.) The counts of Habsburg exercised at this time, in the name of the emperor and of the empire, the right of penal judicature (the provincial government) throughout the whole district of the Aar, as far as the St. Gothard, consequently also over Uri, over which they formerly possessed no right. On the accession of the Habsburgs to the throne, they placed deputy governors over the country, who bore the double office of crown-officers, by their exercise of the right of penal judicature, and of administrators of the possessions of the Habsburgs; between which, as may easily be understood, they did not always draw a broad enough line of distinction. The peasant was to them merely a peasant, whether a freeman of Uri or a serf of Lucerne. It is well known that the object of the emperor Albert was the abolition of local differences and privileges, and the subjection of the free communes to his rule; and the governors, as the free peasants of Uri were doomed to experience, were neither unwilling to obey nor tardy in executing the will of their sovereign.

The events that ensued we give in the words of the naïve chronicle of Tschudi: "In the year of our Lord 1307, there dwelt a pious countryman in Unterwald beyond the Kernwald, whose name was Henry of Melchthal, a wise, prudent, honest man, well to do and in good esteem among his country-folk, moreover, a firm supporter of the liberties of his country and of its adhesion to the holy Roman empire, on which account Beringer von Landenberg, the governor over the whole of Unterwald, was his enemy. This Melchthaler had some very fine oxen, and, on account of some trifling

misdeemeanor committed by his son, Arnold of Melchthal, the governor sent his servant to seize the finest pair of oxen by way of punishment, and in case old Henry of Melchthal said anything against it, he was to say that it was the governor's opinion that the peasants should draw the plow themselves. The servant fulfilled his lord's commands. But, as he unharnessed the oxen, Arnold, the son of the countryman, fell into a rage, and, striking him with a stick on the hand, broke one of his fingers. Upon this Arnold fled, for fear of his life, up the country toward Uri, where he kept himself long secret in the country where Conrad of Baumgarten from Altzelen lay hid for having killed the governor of Wolfenschiess, who had insulted his wife, with a blow of his ax. The servant, meanwhile, complained to his lord, by whose order old Melchthal's eyes were torn out. This tyrannical action rendered the governor highly unpopular, and Arnold, on learning how his good father had been treated, laid his wrongs secretly before trusty people in Uri, and awaited a fit opportunity for avenging his father's misfortune.

"At the same time, Gessler,¹ the governor of Uri and Schwyz, treated the people with almost equal cruelty, and erected a fortress in Uri, as a place of security for himself and other governors after him, in case of revolt, and as a means of keeping the country in greater awe and submission. His reply, on being asked, 'what the name of the fortress was to be?' 'Zwing Uri' (Uri's prison), greatly offended the people of Uri; on perceiving which, he resolved to degrade them still further, and, on St. Jacob's day, caused a pole to be fixed in the market-place, which was the common thoroughfare, by the lime-trees, at Altdorff, and a hat to be placed at the top, to which every one who passed was commanded, on pain of confiscation of his property and of corporal punishment, to bow lowly and to bend the knee as if to the king himself, and placed by it a guard whose duty it was to mark those who refused obedi-

¹ Etterlyn names him Grissler; Schilling, a Count von Seedorf. No contemporary document containing his name has yet been discovered.

ence, thinking to gain great fame if by this means he should succeed in degrading this brave and unconquered nation to the basest slavery. It so chanced that when the governor, Gessler, rode through the country to Schwyz, over which he also ruled, there lived at Steinen in Schwyz a wise and honorable man of an ancient family, named Wernherr von Stauffach, who had built a handsome house near the bridge at Steinen. On the governor's arrival, the Stauffacher, who was standing before the door, gave him a friendly welcome, and was asked by the governor to whom the house belonged. The Stauffacher, suspecting that the question boded nothing good, cautiously replied, 'My lord, the house belongs to my sovereign lord the king, and is your and my fief.' Upon this, the governor said, 'I will not allow peasants to build houses without my consent, or to live in freedom as if they were their own masters. I will teach you to resist!' and, so saying, rode on his journey. These words greatly disturbed the Stauffacher, who was a sensible, intelligent man, and had moreover a wise and prudent wife, who, quickly perceiving that something lay heavy on his mind, did not rest until she had found out what the governor had said. When she heard it, she said, 'My dear Ee-Wirt, you know that many of the good country-folk also complain of the governor's tyranny; it would therefore be well for some of you, who can trust one another, to meet secretly, and take counsel together how you may throw off his wanton power.' Stauffach agreed to this and went to Uri, where, perceiving that all the people were impatient of the hateful yoke of the governor, he trusted his secret to a wise and honorable man of Uri named Walter Furst, who mentioned to him their countryman of Unterwald, Arnold of Melchthal, who had taken refuge in Uri, but had often gone secretly back to Unterwald to see his family, as one who might be trusted. He was therefore called in, and these three men agreed that each of them should secretly assemble all the trustworthy people in their own country, in order to take measures for regaining their ancient liberties and expelling the tyrannical

governor. It was also agreed that they should meet at night by the Mytenstein, that stands in the lake beneath Sewlisberg, at a place called 'in the Rœdlin.' Thus the groundwork to the famous Swiss confederation was laid in the country of Uri by these three brave men.¹

"On the following Sunday, the 18th of the winter-month after Othmar, 1307, an honest peasant of Uri, William Tell by name, who was also in the secret confederacy, passed several times before the hat, hung up in the market-place at Altdorff, without paying it due homage. This was told to the governor, who, on the following morning, summoned Tell to his presence, and asked him haughtily why he disobeyed his commands? Tell replied, 'My dear lord, it happened unknowingly and not out of contempt, pardon me; if I were clever, I should not be called Tell,² I beg for mercy, it shall not happen again.' Now Tell was a good marksman and had not his equal in the whole country; he had also beautiful children of whom he was very fond: the governor sent for them, and said, 'Tell, which of your children do you love the best?' Tell answered, 'My lord, they are all alike dear to me.' Upon this, the governor said, 'Well! Tell, you are a good and true marksman, as I hear, and shall prove your skill in my presence, by shooting an apple off the head of one of your children, but take care that you strike the apple, for should the first shot miss it shall cost

¹ Hence the old rhyme:

"When the lowly wept and tyrants stormed,
The Swiss confederacy was formed."

² Tell (*toll*, dull, stupid, *Tölpel*) has a similar signification with the Northern Toko (Docke, sly fellow, or dissembler, in the Swiss dialect, Töckel—a silly butterfly), a simpleton or fool. Both the name and the story of Tell agree so precisely with those of the Danish Paluotocke, the assassin of King Harald, that Tell's history has been sometimes deemed a mere fabulous imitation of the Danish one. Both stories are, according to Ideler, founded on one of still higher antiquity. Tell's history has been, undeniably, adorned with much poetical fiction, but its principal features are, nevertheless, true. The personal description of Tell appears to be perfectly genuine, for (as Mönnich, in his treatise concerning Tell, Nuremberg, 1841, remarks) his peasant-like manners, his perplexity and timidity at the first moment, his ignoble and unideal character, prove Tschudi's historical accuracy. A fictitious hero would have been more ideally portrayed.

you your life.' Tell, filled with horror, begged the governor for God's sake to dispense with the trial, 'for it would be unnatural for him to shoot at his own dear child. He would sooner die.' But the governor merely replied, 'Unless you do it, you or your child shall die.' Tell now perceived that the trial must be made, and inwardly praying God to shield him and his dear child, took up his crossbow, set it, placed the arrow in it, and stuck another behind in his collar, while the governor placed the apple with his own hand on the head of the child, who was not more than six years old. Tell then aimed at the apple, and shot it off the crown of the child's head without inflicting the slightest injury. The governor was greatly astonished at his wonderful skill, and praised him, but asked, 'what he intended by sticking another arrow behind in his collar?' Tell was afraid, and said, 'it was the custom among marksmen.' The governor, however, perceived that Tell avoided his question, and said, 'Tell, speak the truth openly and without fear, your life is safe, but I am not satisfied with your answer.' Then William Tell took courage, and replied, 'Well, my lord, I will tell you the whole truth; if I had struck my child, I would have shot at you with the other arrow, which would certainly not have missed its mark.'

"When the governor heard this, he said, 'Very well, Tell; I have promised you your life, and will keep my word, but now that I know your evil intentions against me, I will have you taken to a place where you shall never again behold either sun or moon;' and commanded his servants to take him bound to Fluellen. He also went with them; and, with his servants, and Tell with his hands bound, got into a boat, intending to go to Brunnen, and thence to carry Tell across the country through Schwyz to his castle at Kussnacht (according to Kopp, Kussnacht never belonged to a Gessler; the governor, nevertheless, might have the right of entry into the castle), where he was to remain for the rest of his life in a dark dungeon. Tell's crossbow lay in the boat by the side of the steersman. When they had got well into the

lake, and had reached the corner at Achsen, it pleased God to raise such a fearful and violent storm that they all despaired of safety, and expected to drown miserably. Upon this, one of the servants said to the governor, 'My lord, you see your and our need, and the danger of our lives; now Tell is a strong man, and can manage a boat well, let us make use of him in our necessity.' The governor, who was in mortal dread of a watery grave, then said to Tell, 'If you truly bring us out of this danger, I will release you from your bonds.' To which Tell replied, 'Yes, my lord, I trust, with God's aid, to bring you safely out of this peril.' Thereupon he was unbound, and, standing at the helm, guided the boat well, but watched, meanwhile, for an opportunity to seize his crossbow, which lay near him, and to jump out; as he approached a rock (since known as Tell's Rock, on which a small chapel has been erected), he called to the servants that they must go carefully until they came to this rock, when the worst danger would be past, and on reaching the rock, drove the boat, for he was very strong, violently against it, snatched up his crossbow, and springing upon the rocky shelf, pushed the boat back again into the lake, where it lay tossing about, while he ran through Schwyz to a hollow way between Art and Kussnacht, with a high bank above, where he lay hid, and awaited the coming of the governor, who, he well knew, must take that road to his castle. The governor and his servants, after great danger and trouble in crossing the lake, reached Brunnen; and riding thence through Schwyz, entered the hollow way, plotting as they went along all sorts of designs against Tell, who, nothing heeding, drew his crossbow and shot the governor through the heart with an arrow, so that he fell heavily from his horse, and from that hour never breathed more. On the spot where William Tell shot the governor, a holy chapel, that is standing at this day, was built."

Tschudi further relates that on New Year's day, 1308, the peasantry got possession of the fortresses of Sarnen and Rotzberg in Unterwald by stratagem, and that those of Uri

destroyed the new fortress of Zwing Uri, and those of Schwyz the castle of Lowers. After which it is said they formed at Brunnen on the lake, on the 6th of January, 1308, the first Swiss confederation, for the period of ten years, and with the reservation of their allegiance to the emperor and the empire.¹

The peasantry in the Tyrol also tried their strength at this period. The Italians at Feltre attempting to deprive the Germans at Fleims of some Alps in Southern Tyrol, the Fleinsers attacked Feltre, took it by storm, and burned the town to the ground, 1300. These peasants form the most southern German outpost on the Italian side, and distinguished themselves in all the wars up to 1809.

CLXXV. *Henry the Seventh of Luxemburg*

ON the death of Albert, the crown of Germany was claimed by Philip the Handsome of France for his brother Charles; the princes, however, dreaded his power, and refused to elect him. The Habsburgs were as little favored, the late emperor's authority appearing to his jealous subjects to have acquired too great weight. They consequently resolved to place another petty count upon the throne, and, in order to flatter the church, to recognize him as emperor to whom the ecclesiastical electors gave the majority of votes.

The city and archbishopric of Treves was, at that time, on a good footing with the neighboring count, Henry of Luxemburg. Henry was known to fame as the best knight of

¹ This history is not confirmed by any contemporary writer, neither has it been disproved. Henry von Hunenberg alone mentions it in an epigram, the authenticity of which we cannot vouch.

“Dum pater in puerum telum crudele coruscat
Tellus, ex jussu, sæve tyrannæ, tuo
Pomum, non natum figit fatahs arundo
Altera mox, ultrix, te periture petet.”

In 1388, in the provincial assembly at Uri, one hundred and fourteen of the country people declared that they had known Tell personally, and that in 1354 he was drowned at Bürglen during a flood, while attempting to save some persons. This declaration was even then necessary, in order to confirm the authenticity of Tell's history.

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the day in the lists. His alliance with Treves was necessitated by the attacks of his neighbor of Brabant. The city of Treves bestowed upon him the rights of citizenship, and his brother Baldwin gained the miter by means of his former medical attendant, Peter Aichspalter, a Trevian by birth, his predecessor on the archiepiscopal throne. Baldwin consequently recommended his brother, who, being favored by Mayence, the archbishop of Cologne, who sided with France, was left in the minority, and the princes, faithful to their plighted word, accepted Henry for their emperor.

Henry VII. was proclaimed emperor at Rense, in 1308, near Braubach, on the left bank of the Rhine, and the royal crown was placed upon his brow. - The two other crowns, the iron one of Lombardy and the imperial crown, were still in Italy. Henry was one of the noblest monarchs who sat on the throne of Germany. Deeply conscious of the duties imposed upon him by his station, he followed in the steps of Charlemagne and Barbarossa, and worthily upheld the dignity and honor of the empire, ever remaining a stranger to the petty policy of his late predecessors, who sacrificed the state for the sake of increasing the wealth and influence of their own houses. Sensible of his inability to cope with his jealous vassals at home, he sought to extend his authority abroad, and to cover himself with the glory of the ancient emperors by repelling the assumptions of France, and repairing the losses sustained by the empire since the fall of the Hohenstaufen, in order to acquire the power necessary for restoring and maintaining order in the interior of the empire. The Italians were weary of French usurpation and intrigue; the pope even sighed for release from French bondage; the times seemed more than ever propitious for the restoration of Italy to the empire, and the emperor would have neglected his duty had he not created this diversion against the plotting king of France. Henry acted both as a wise statesman and a great sovereign, and shame upon the princes of Germany who withheld their aid.

Before setting out for Italy he did his utmost to restore peace and tranquillity to the empire. Bohemia was in a state of complete anarchy. Henry of Carinthia filled every office in that kingdom with Carinthians, drained the country of money, took the heads of the Bohemian aristocracy prisoners at a banquet, and threw Elisabeth, Wenzel's second sister, into a dungeon (1308), in order to force her into a marriage with a low-born knight, and thus exclude her from the succession. Aided by Berenger, an old and faithful chaplain, this princess contrived to escape, and roused the people to rebellion. Henry of Luxemburg was, at this conjuncture, raised to the imperial throne, and the Bohemians, resting their hopes on him for aid, sent ambassadors, bearing with them the Princess Elisabeth, then in her eighteenth year, to him, in order to offer her in marriage to his son, John, a boy of fourteen. The princess made the offer in person; the emperor, struck with the indecency of the demand, at first tauntingly rejected the proposal, but afterward, won by her spirit and innocence, consented to the marriage, and dispatched his son, John, a boy of uncommon bravery and promise, at the head of a body of troops, to Bohemia, where he was joyfully welcomed. The Carinthians were expelled.

The position of the emperor in respect to the house of Habsburg, at the head of which stood Albert's elder sons, Frederick the Handsome, and Leopold, besides a daughter, Agnes, the widow of the last of the Hungarian dynasty of Arpad, was replete with difficulty. The Austrians had not yet become habituated to their yoke. In Vienna, Albert's death was the signal for an insurrection, which Frederick was merely enabled to quell by the infliction of the most horrid punishments; numbers of the citizens were executed, deprived of sight and mutilated. Otto of Bavaria, whom Albert had formerly expelled from Hungary, now revenged himself upon Frederick by invading Austria, where he carried all before him and laid the country waste. Styria was, meanwhile, restored to tranquillity by the governor, Ulric

von Waldsee. The Habsburgs had also numerous enemies in the Alps. The emperor, Henry, solemnly released the peasants of Uri, Unterwald, and Schwyz from the Habsburg rule, and placed them under the immediate jurisdiction of the crown; an act completely contrary to the policy of the Habsburgs, but strictly just and in accordance with the prerogative and duty of the sovereign, who alone possessed the right of nominating the governors, and was in duty bound to remove those who gave just cause of complaint to the people. The Habsburgs exercised hereditary jurisdiction over their vassals and serfs, but not over free subjects of the empire, whom they merely governed in the name and at the pleasure of the emperor. Henry, with equal justice, put the murderers of the late emperor out of the ban of the empire, and offered peace and friendship to his sons. A grand and solemn funeral service was performed by Henry's command at Spire, where the remains of the emperors, Adolf of Nassau, and Albert of Habsburg, were deposited in the old imperial vault. Both of their widows and Albert's daughter were present (1309): Elisabeth of Nassau, who had once vainly pleaded on her knees to Albert for her son; Elisabeth of Habsburg, who sat weeping at the foot of the same Albert's coffin. The empress, Margaretha, sought to comfort the widowed mourners, and, with a misgiving heart, entreated Heaven to guard her from a similar calamity. Frederick the Handsome was also in Spire with a numerous retinue, and a reconciliation was assiduously attempted between the houses of Luxemburg and Habsburg. After a long dispute, the two parties agreed to certain terms, and reciprocally guaranteed to each other the quiet possession of their several territories.

Elisabeth fearfully revenged the murder of her husband. Johannes had fled to Italy; his accomplices, Ulric von Palm and Walter von Eschenbach, secreted themselves, one in a penitentiary at Basel, the other for several years as a cowherd in Swabia; Rudolf von Wart fell into the hands of his pursuers, and was condemned by Agnes to be bound alive

to the wheel. He lived in this state for three days, during which his faithful wife, Gertrude, sat at his feet weeping and praying until he expired. Elisabeth's vengeance even overtook the innocent; all the relations and vassals of the murderers were killed, to the number of a thousand men, and with their confiscated property she built the convent of Koenigsfelden (now a madhouse), in which her daughter Agnes took the veil, in order to pass the remainder of her days in mourning for her father.

The emperor also attempted to persuade Count Eberhard' of Wurtemberg to desist from further violence, and represented to him at the diet at Spire the ruinous consequences of internal feuds. "Enemies multiply abroad, when those before whom they were wont to tremble are engaged in dissension at home, and the bitter feelings roused by feuds between the different races in Germany, will, ere many years elapse, become deeply and ineradicably rooted." Eberhard, who had been escorted to the diet by two hundred knights, unmoved by the emperor's persuasions, openly set him at defiance, and, saying that he owned no master, rode away. Henry instantly put him out of the ban of the empire, and carried the sentence into effect with the aid of the Count Conrad von Weinsperg, in 1311, and of the Swabian cities, which, since 1307, had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance against Eberhard. Esslingen, the most powerful of the allied cities, had the insolence to receive the homage of the whole county of Wurtemberg. The ancient castle of Wurtemberg was destroyed, Stuttgard taken, and Eberhard, chased from one robber castle to another, was at length compelled to lie concealed in the castle of Besigheim until the death of the emperor.

The Ghibellines earnestly desired the emperor's arrival

' This Eberhard was usually surnamed "the Enlightened." Peter von Koenigssaal (cron. aulic regie) terms him more properly "fomes perfidie, vas perditionis, pacis destructor." This wild knight had an extremely beautiful daughter, who lies buried at Rottenburg:

"Hic jacet ecce Rosa quondam nimium spectosa,
Irmengard grata de Wirtemberg generata."

in Italy,' and assembled under Visconti, the Milan exile, in order to bid him welcome. The majority among them, nevertheless, were simply desirous of making use of the emperor, for the purpose of lowering the power of the Guelphs; very few among them still cherished a wish for the restoration of the ancient empire. Among the latter was Dante, who immortalized Arrigo (Henry) the Pious as the shepherd of his people, as the restorer of justice, and in his work "*de Monarchia*," again exhausts all the arguments with which Frederick II. had defended his temporal dominions against papal tyranny.—When, in 1310, Henry, at the head of a petty German force, and solely accompanied by Duke Leopold of Austria and Count Amadeus of Savoy, crossed the Alps, the Ghibellines flocked beneath his standard. The Milanese Guelphs, panic-struck, opened the city gates, and the emperor, entering the ancient capital of Lombardy, caused the lost iron crown to be replaced by a new one, which he placed upon his head, and marched in triumph through the streets with his empress Margaretha—on whose long flowing golden locks a diadem also shone—on an ambling palfrey at his side. The Guelphic chiefs della Torre, meanwhile, encouraged by the discontent raised in Milan by the promulgation of the strict imperial edicts, the imposition of a tax and the expense

¹ Dante places the emperor Albert in purgatory, and thus reproaches him:

"Ahi serva Italia, di dolore ostello,
Nave senza nocchiero in gran tempesta;
Non donna di provincie, ma bordello!
Ahi gente che dovresti esser devota,
E lasciar seder Cesar ne la sella,
Se bene intendi ciò che Dio ti nota!
Guarda com' esta fiera è fatta fella,
Per non esser corretta dagli sproni,
Poichè ponesti mano a la predella.
O Alberto Tedesco, c' abbaudoni
Costei ch' e fatta indomita e selvaggia,
E dovresti inforcar li suoi arcioni;
Giusto giudicio da le stelle caggia
Sovra 'l tuo sangue, e sia nuovo e aperto,
Tal che 'l tuo successor temenza n' aggia:
C' avete, tu e 'l tuo padre, sofferto,
Per cupidigia di costà distretti,
Che 'l giardin dello 'mperio sia deserto."

—*Del Purgatorio*, Canto vi.

caused by the emperor's prolonged stay, set a conspiracy on foot, which was, however, discovered, and the Germans, under Leopold of Habsburg, drove the Torres from the city. Guido della Torre fled to Cremona, whither he was pursued by the emperor, who took the city and leveled it with the ground, 1311.

Dante complained in a public letter of the emperor's trifling in Upper Italy, instead of hastening to Rome to crush his enemies at a blow. Henry, by his overcautious and temporizing policy, merely allowed the Guelphs time to recover from their first surprise. Tibaldo de Brussati, whom he had greatly favored, faithlessly deserted him and armed the city of Brescia against him. Enraged at this act of treachery, the emperor resolved to make of him a fearful example, and, on taking him prisoner during a sally, sentenced him to be dragged to death round the walls. The death of Henry's brother, Count Walram, who fell before this city, roused his vengeance, and he vowed to deprive every inhabitant of Brescia of his nose; his camp was, however, devastated by a pestilence, and Brescia yielded on condition that the noses of the statues with which the city was adorned should be sacrificed, instead of those of the inhabitants, to the emperor's revenge. His stay in Upper Italy was lengthened for the sake of reducing the whole country to subjection. The citizens of Pavia came to meet him, and delivered to him the golden imperial crown, lost there by Frederick II. In the winter he visited Genoa, which still remained true to her allegiance. During his stay in this city, he lost his empress, Margaretha. It was either here or at Pavia that Johannes, the murderer of the emperor Albert, presented himself in the garb of a monk before him when sitting at table, and fell at his feet to beg for pardon, but was angrily repulsed and thrown into prison, where he shortly afterward expired, 1313, and was buried in the Augustin monastery at Pisa.

Robert, king of Naples, favored by the delay on the part of the emperor, dispatched his brother, John of Achaja, with a body of picked troops, to Rome, for the purpose of defend-

ing that city in the name of France and of the pope against the German invader. He was also strongly upheld by the powerful Guelphic faction of the Orsini. Leaving the gallant knight and Minnesinger, Count Werner von Homburg, governor over Lombardy, Henry, with Philip, the nephew of the earl of Savoy—whose alliance he sought to fortify—as a colleague, set off instantly, at the head of merely two thousand men, for Rome, in 1312. The Roman nobility came, with feigned professions of friendship, to meet him, but, already fully acquainted with Italian perfidy, he ordered them, with a contempt unusual to him, to be thrown into chains, forced his way into the city and stormed the Capitol, whence he was repulsed with serious loss. St. Peter's church also proving impregnable, he was compelled to solemnize his coronation in the Lateran. The ceremony was disturbed by the arrows and shouts of the Guelphs.

The abandonment of Rome was now his only alternative. With unshaken spirit he, nevertheless, repulsed the Tuscans, who attempted to cut off his retreat near Ancisa, laid waste their beautiful country, which refused to own his sway, and at length fixed his camp in a lonely spot, near Poggibonzi, which he named the Kaisersberg, where he wished to found a city. While here, he put Robert, king of Naples, out of the ban of the empire as a faithless vassal, and sentenced him to death. The pope, Clement V., however, imposed his commands upon him from France to keep peace with Robert, whom the Tuscan league, on perceiving the weakness of the emperor, proclaimed their protector. Henry also divided, as if in peace and security, the Italian imperial offices and possessions among the faithful Ghibellines, sued for the hand of the beautiful Catherine von Habsburg, a daughter of the emperor Albert, and made great preparations in Sicily, Genoa, and Germany, for the renewal of the war on all sides. His son John, king of Bohemia, was on the point of escorting his father's bride, and of conducting a fresh body of German troops across the Alps, and Henry's hopes seemed on the point of being fulfilled, when, after an unsuccessful

attack upon Siena, he was poisoned at Buonconvento during supper by a monk, August 24, 1313. With his expiring breath he said to his murderer, "You have given me death in the cup of life, but fly, ere my followers seize you!" At Pisa, Catherine received a corpse instead of an imperial bridegroom.

Philip, playing the traitor in Lombardy, was seized by the throat by Werner von Homburg, who was wounded in the scuffle by Philip's attendants. The Ghibelline Visconti, nevertheless, maintained their authority in Milan, and that faction gained the upper hand in Tuscany. Robert of Naples, on the other hand, retained possession of Naples, and even succeeded in winning the favor of the Habsburgs, and Henry's luckless bride, Catherine, again crossed the Alps in order to wed Charles, the son of Robert. She died a few years after of sorrow and disappointment, leaving no issue.

While these events were passing in the South, Waldemar, Margrave of Brandenburg, vied with the Hansa in subjugating the North. The noble Ascanian family had merged in the lines of Stendal and Salzwedel, and been greatly weakened by the powerful archbishops of Magdeburg. Otto with the Arrow, the Minnesinger, died childless, and was succeeded by his nephew, Waldemar the Bold, in 1308, who also placed himself at the head of the Stendal family, by poisoning his youthful relative, John, the rightful heir. Sole master over the march, he speedily gained great power, and pursued the plan of conquering the whole of the coast of the Baltic. In 1309, he had already gained possession of Pomerelia, Dantzic, and the mouths of the Vistula, which he made over provisionally to the German order, in order to gain them on his side against the Hansa, against which he instantly turned his arms. Under pretext of solemnizing his nuptials at Rostock with his cousin, Agnes, he perfidiously attempted to take that city by surprise; but the wary citizens closed the gates against him, and he and his ally, Eric Menved of Denmark, with some petty princes and bishops, hostile to the Hansa, vainly sought to reduce it to submis-

sion, in 1310. The city communes, suspecting the lower council of treasonable correspondence with the enemy, revolted under Henry Runge, and deposed the members of the council, of whom they murdered several; but, being unexpectedly attacked by Henry of Mecklenburg, a bloody skirmish took place in the streets, and their leader was taken and beheaded in 1314. During this year, the citizens of Magdeburg revolted against their tyrannical archbishop, Burkhard. The allied princes of Northern Germany seized this as a pretext for attacking the city, but the citizens made such a brave defense, so warmly pressed the hungry princes to leave their camp and partake of their banquets, and received the Margrave, Frederick with the bitten cheek, who ventured to accept their invitation, so graciously, that the siege was discontinued. A reconciliation took place; but the archbishop becoming still more despotic, confiscating all heritages in the name of St. Maurice, the city patron, he was finally, in 1329, taken prisoner by the citizens, and put to death by four men selected for that purpose from the cities of Magdeburg, Halle, Calbe, and Burg.

Frederick the Bitten, taking advantage of Waldemar's absence in the North, invaded his territory from the south in the hope of regaining possession of the Lausitz, but was defeated by Waldemar at Grossenhayn and taken prisoner. Waldemar then, in 1312, attacked Witzlav, the Wendian duke of Pomerania, who attempted to seize Stralsund, and, assisted by the dukes of Mecklenburg, Brunswick, and Saxon-Lauenburg, by the counts of Schwerin, and by the united Poles, Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, resolved to humble the proud Margrave of Brandenburg, in 1316. Waldemar, unable to cope with this overwhelming force, was defeated in Mecklenburg, and solely enabled to save himself from utter destruction by raising a rebellion in Denmark, and entreating the aid of the Hansa. The allied princes attacked Stralsund, but were repulsed by the brave citizens, who took Eric, duke of Saxony, captive in a sally, and raised their fine town-house with his ransom. The

league was broken up in 1318, and Waldemar died suddenly, leaving no issue. Frederick with the bitten cheek also expired in 1319, worn out with toil and laden with years, after having succeeded in restoring his family to their rights. He was succeeded in Misnia by his son, Frederick the Stern. Brandenburg, now a vacant fief, became an apple of discord between the factions contending for the imperial throne. A side-branch of the Ascanian family still reigned in Anhalt. The Lausitz submitted to John of Bohemia.

About this time the free Ditmarses were at violent feud with the counts of Holstein, who incessantly sought to reduce them to submission. The peasants insolently invaded Holstein, reveled in plunder, and bathed in the immense beer vats. Count Gerhard defeated them by stratagem; his soldiers were ordered to break off the boughs of trees, under cover of which they surprised the enemy, who mistook them for a wood. Emboldened by this success, Gerhard invaded their country, and again taking them by surprise by the rapidity of his movements, once more defeated them. A small number of men still defending themselves in the church of Oldenwarden, he ordered the building to be set on fire, but the melted lead no sooner began to pour upon the heads of the besieged peasants, than, making a furious sally, they repulsed the superior forces of the enemy, and, rallying their scattered countrymen, fell upon the Holsteiners, who suffered a defeat as shameful as it was unexpected, and long afterward left them unmolested (1319). On the nomination of the Dane. John Fursat, to the archbishopric of Bremen by the pope, he was mocked by the Ditmarses, beaten with sticks by the East Friscians, and compelled to flee to Avignon. The East Friscians were nominally given by Rudolf of Habsburg, the hereditary foe to liberty, to Reinhold the Warlike of Guelders, but that count never ventured to demand their homage. His son, Reinhold the Black, who had the temerity to make the attempt, was signally defeated in the battle of Vollenhoven, 1323.

CLXXVI. *Louis the Bavarian and Frederick of
Austria*

ON the death of the noble-hearted emperor, the empire again fell a prey to the adverse factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. The rancor of the Papal-Gallic party had been again excited by Henry's expedition to Rome, and the Habsburgs once more appeared on the scene as its supporters and tools. Frederick the Handsome was, consequently, zealously recommended by the pope as the successor to the crown, for which a competitor also appeared in the person of John of Bohemia, the son of the late emperor, whose pretensions were warmly upheld by his uncles, Baldwin of Treves and Peter of Mayence; his youth, however, proved the chief obstacle, and, after some consideration, he ceded his rights in favor of Louis of Bavaria.—Frederick was remarkable for the beauty of his person, but was inferior in mental energy to his brother, Leopold, whose diminutive person inclosed a bold and hardy spirit. Fate had, at an early age, brought Louis of Bavaria and Frederick together. Their childhood had been spent together, and a strong affection had subsisted between them. Political events produced a separation. The possessions of the house of Wittelsbach, united under Otto, the friend of the last of the Hohenstaufen, had been divided between his sons Louis and Henry, the former of whom succeeded to the Rhenish Pfalz and Upper Bavaria, the latter to Lower Bavaria. A fresh subdivision took place between the sons of Louis, Rudolf receiving the Pfalz, and Louis, who mounted the imperial throne, Upper Bavaria. Otto, the son of Henry, the ex-king of Hungary, died in Lower Bavaria, leaving several children still minors. Otto, who had been reduced to poverty by the Hungarian war, had replenished his treasury by the grant (1311) of great privileges to his Estates, which now interfered, the cities demanding Louis, the nobility, Frederick, as guardian

over the children. Both the guardians met at Landau as early friends. Louis maintained his right, but Frederick refused to let the opportunity for extending his sway over Bavaria slip, and the conference terminated by their drawing their swords upon each other, and being forcibly separated to meet again on the battlefield. Louis, favored by the justice of his cause and the bravery of the citizens, gained a complete victory at Gamelsdorf over the Bavarian nobility and the arrier-ban of Austria, led by Ulric of Waldsee, beneath whom the bridge over the Isar gave way, and thousands were drowned (1313). This victory rendered Louis highly popular among the people, and particularly among the citizens. He, nevertheless, brought about a reconciliation with Frederick, their ancient friendship revived, and at Salzburg they shared the same bed.

The election of an emperor was canvassed. Louis, unsuspecting of his own elevation, promised his vote to Frederick, but, when unexpectedly elected by the Luxemburg party instead of John, forgot his promise, and allowed himself to be elected emperor by the majority of the princes in Frankfort on the Maine, while Frederick was merely proclaimed emperor outside of the city gates by the archbishop of Cologne, a papal partisan, by Henry of Carinthia, who was jealous of John on account of Bohemia, by the Pfalzgraf, Rudolf, who was also jealous of his brother, and by the Saxons. Waldemar of Brandenburg favored Frederick. His ambassador, Nicolas Bock, however, voted for Louis, and was sentenced on his return to be chained fasting to the wall of his master's banqueting-room, and compelled to look on while he feasted. Every other vote was in favor of Louis, whose coronation was solemnized with ancient splendor at Aix-la-Chapelle, while Frederick was crowned at Bonn by the archbishop of Cologne, Henry von Virneburg. The Cologne, who favored Louis, expelled their archbishop from the city, to which he was permitted to return in 1321, for the purpose of reading the first mass in the chancel (then first completed) of the cathedral. Louis was compelled to

reward the services of John of Bohemia by the cession of the imperial free town of Eger, and to bestow Boppard Alzey (the knight, Henry von Alzey, had attempted Louis's life and been put to the rack), etc., in pledge on Baldwin.

The long war that ensued between the emperors is remarkable for procrastination and indecision, the consequence of their want of confidence in their allies. Leopold opened the first campaign, in the summer of 1315, by surprising Louis in Augsburg, and compelling him to flee by night from the city. In his anger at the escape of his antagonist he fired all the neighboring villages, and then proceeded to Basel in order to celebrate the nuptials of his brother Frederick with Elisabeth of Aragon, and his own with a countess of Savoy. In the autumn of the same year he led his troops against the Swiss, who favored Louis.

War had long been fomenting in the mountains. As early as 1313 the Habsburg vassals of Lucerne had undertaken an unsuccessful expedition against Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, and the peasants of Schwyz had attacked the monastery of Einsiedeln and taken the monks captive. The murdered and disconcerted governors were still unrevenged, and the confederates, confident of imperial favor, and proud of the success of their first attempts, openly stood up in defense of their liberties. Leopold, resolved to quell their insolence, assembled his troops in the Aargau and called a council of war to deliberate on the mode of crossing the Alps. His court fool, Jenni von Stocken, gravely remarked on this occasion, "It is more advisable to deliberate upon the means of getting out of them again." On reaching the Engpass, Leopold was opposed by fifty men of Schwyz, who had been banished their country for debt, and who, rolling stones down the mountain sides, crushed both men and horses; they were speedily re-enforced by thirteen hundred of their countrymen, a dreadful slaughter ensued, and Leopold was compelled to seek safety in flight. This success was followed by another on the same day over the count of Strasburg, who had crossed the Brunig and entered Unterwald. The confed-

erates afterward entered into an eternal league, 1315, and nominated a Landamman or chief magistrate.

Louis, meanwhile, remained undisturbed, and succeeded in overcoming his brother Rudolf, and other malcontents. In 1317, a skirmish took place between Frederick, Leopold, and Eberhard of Wurtemberg, who had ventured from retirement, on one side, and Louis and John on the other, in which the victory remained undecided. John was called into Bohemia, where the nobles were in full revolt, but were pacified by the mediation of the emperor, 1318. Disturbances continued rife in Switzerland. The power of the Habsburgs, meanwhile, increased. The Visconti, the emperor's Italian partisans, were hard pushed by the pope, John XXII., and by Henry of Habsburg. In 1321, Frederick, aided by the wild Hungarians and Cumans, laid the whole of Bavaria waste; and John of Bohemia, ever fickle and restless, was at length induced to join his forces with those of Louis. The cities also contributed both money and troops, and, in 1322, Frederick was overtaken at Muhldorf in Lower Bavaria, before Leopold was able to join him with a body of fresh troops. The battle was rashly commenced by Frederick, who, at the onset, drove back the Bohemians, but was quickly surrounded and taken prisoner. The flower of the Austrian nobility, among others three-and-twenty of the family of Trautmannsdorf, strewed the field. After the battle, Louis gratefully acknowledged the services of his commander-in-chief, Schweppermann, to whose skill he entirely owed his success. A basketful of eggs being all that could be found for the imperial table, the emperor distributed them among his officers, saying, "To each of you one egg, to our gallant Schweppermann two!" Schweppermann was of diminutive stature, old and lame, but skilled in the tactics of the day. The emperor's words on this occasion may still be read on this officer's tombstone at Castel, near Amberg. Frederick was imprisoned in the castle of Trausnitz, near Landshut.

Thus freed from his most dangerous opponent, and victo-

rious in Switzerland, Louis was enabled to dispatch eight hundred lances to the aid of the Visconti, now sorely pressed by the Guelphs. Eberhard of Wurtemberg also declared in his favor, and was rewarded with the government of Swabia and Alsace. The investment of the young prince, Louis, with the vacant electorate of Brandenburg, suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. John of Bohemia, roused to jealousy, entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Habsburgs, and set Henry the Amiable, Frederick's younger brother, who had fallen into his hands at Muhldorf, at liberty. France, Naples, Hungary, and the Guelphic faction implored the pope to shatter the power of an emperor inclined to pursue the dreaded policy of the Hohenstaufen; and, in 1323, John XXII. insolently summoned the emperor to appear before him at Avignon, the focus of French intrigue, and on being disobeyed, solemnly placed him under an interdict in 1324. The schism between the Franciscans, part of whom opposed the luxury and vices of the clergy, nevertheless, raised friends for the emperor even in the church, who defended him in their sermons and writings, and, in open defiance of the papal interdict, performed the church service for him and his adherents. Among others, Occam, an Englishman, the greatest scholar of the age, demanded Louis's protection, exclaiming, "Defend me with the sword, and I will defend you with my words!" The Dominicans, the pope's faithful servants, were, consequently, persecuted throughout Germany.

The pope, maddened with rage, incited the Poles, in 1325, and the pagan Lithuanians to invade Brandenburg, where they burned one hundred and fifty villages and practiced the most horrid atrocities. The pope, at this time at the summit of his power, asserted in his extravagant bulls his supremacy in the empire. Barnim of Pomerania acknowledged him as his liege. The pope again acted in unison with Charles IV. of France, whose hopes of gaining the crown of Germany once more revived on the imprisonment of Frederick and the interdiction of Louis. Leopold, who

gave his brother up as lost, held a conference with Charles at Bar-sur-Aube, in which he assured to him the imperial crown, on condition of his aiding in the emperor's overthrow. An alliance was also formed between John of Bohemia, France, and Naples, on whose sovereigns he bestowed his sisters in marriage. His intention, however, was, not to sell himself to, but to make use of Charles in case of a fresh election. The princes of the empire were also induced to listen to the proposals of the pope and his allies, and the election of Charles, by the diet held at Rense, was solely controverted by the representations of Count Berthold von Bucheck. The majority of the nation, in fact, favored Louis, and compelled the priests to perform service in the churches.

Louis, convinced that a reconciliation with Frederick offered the only means of salvation for Germany, visited him in his prison in the Trausnitz, and sued for reconciliation in the name of their youthful affection and the weal of the empire; and Frederick, swearing on the holy wafer to own him as his sovereign, and to bring his brother Leopold to his feet, returned to his own castle, where his wife, Elisabeth, had wept herself blind during his absence, and, cutting off his beard, which had grown an immense length during his captivity, sent it by way of memorial to John of Bohemia. Leopold, instigated by the pope, refused to do homage to Louis, and Frederick, although publicly released from his oath by the pontiff, remained true to his plighted faith, and voluntarily presented himself as a prisoner before Louis; the two friends, now rivals alone in generosity, secretly agreed to share the imperial throne. Louis, once more freed from difficulty, nominated the Margrave, Frederick of Misnia, to whom he had given his daughter, Matilda, in marriage, governor of Brandenburg, in the name of his son Louis, for the purpose of freeing that unfortunate country from the depredations of the Poles, whose deeds of cruelty were countenanced by the pope.—In the ensuing year, Leopold died mad, and was shortly after followed by his brother, Henry

the Amiable. The fourth brother, Otto the Joyous, accompanied Frederick to Munich in 1326, and wedded the princess Elisabeth of Bavaria, while Henry of Lower Bavaria, then a youth, married one of Frederick's daughters. John of Bohemia was appeased by the possession of Silesia.

Tranquillity being thus secured in Germany, Louis ventured to undertake an expedition to Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown from the hands of a pope elected by him in opposition to the pontiff at Avignon. The first opposition he encountered was at Milan, where he seized and imprisoned the Visconti, whose fidelity he suspected. He was also compelled to carry Pisa, where the gates were closed against him, by storm. After declaring Robert of Naples out of the ban of the empire, and creating Castruccio, the gallant Ghibelline leader, duke of Lucca, he proceeded to Rome, caused himself to be proclaimed in the Capitol lord of the eternal city, to be crowned with his wife Margaretha of Holland in St. Peter's by two bishops, deposed the pope, John XXII. of Avignon, who was burned in effigy, and placed a loyal Franciscan, under the name of Martin V., on the pontifical throne. Margaretha shortly afterward gave birth to a son, Louis, surnamed the Roman. Robert, meanwhile, prepared for war; Castruccio died, and the Germans became so unpopular, on account of the expense of their maintenance, that Louis was compelled to retrace his steps. Milan closed her gates against him, and he was constrained to restore the Visconti to liberty in order to procure money for the payment of his troops. Martin V. was deposed and carried to Avignon, where he was, with feigned compassion, pardoned by the pope, who thus sought to evince his superiority over the emperor.

Louis the Elder was, meanwhile, defeated on the Cremer Damm in Brandenburg by the papal partisan Barnim of Pomerania. John of Bohemia had also been engaged in Lithuania with his allies, the German Hospitalers. Frederick the Handsome, deeply wounded by the refusal of the princes to recognize him as the emperor's colleague on the

throne, expired four weeks before Louis's arrival in Munich from his Italian expedition.—About the same time (1328) Charles IV. of France, the last of the Capetian dynasty, also expired, and was succeeded by his relative, Philip of Valois, who pursued a similar policy in regard to Germany, and entered into a close alliance with the pope.

CLXXVII. *The Electoral Diet at Rense*

DIFFICULTIES seemed to gather around the path of Louis, now sole emperor, and he again found it necessary to renew his alliance with John of Bohemia, to whom he craftily offered the vicegerency of Italy, which was greedily accepted, and John, ever enamored of adventure, instantly crossed the Alps. Otto the Joyous, on the other hand, jealous of the emperor's popularity in Switzerland and in the cities, renewed the Habsburg feud, and a battle was on the point of taking place at Colmar between him and the imperial forces, when Albert the Lame, his elder brother, interposed, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Habsburgs were to hold Schaffhausen, Rheinfelden, Breisach, the bulwarks of the Upper Rhine, in fee of the empire, and Otto to receive the empty title of vicegerent of the empire. John of Bohemia, enraged at these conditions, instantly joined the Italian Guelphs.

The emperor, upon this, convoked a great diet at Nuremberg, in which he urgently pointed out to the princes the necessity of union. John, who speedily found himself deserted by his Italian allies, and in want of money and troops, also appeared, dexterously excused his conduct, and drew the Habsburgs, whom he found on friendly terms with the emperor, over to his side, giving his daughter, Anna, in marriage to Otto the Joyous, while he himself wedded Elisabeth, the daughter of the emperor Albert, whom he had ever bitterly hated and opposed. Louis attempted to make use of John as a mediator between him and the pope, who refused to come to terms, and John, placing himself at the head of

the French chivalry, recrossed the Alps and defeated the Ghibellines at Felice, where his son Wenzel (afterward the emperor Charles IV.) gained his first spurs; after which he returned to Germany to carry on feuds with the petty counts.

The emperor, in the hope of inducing the pope to release him from the interdict, now offered to perform public penance, to sacrifice the faithful Minorites, and to abdicate in favor of his cousin, Henry of Lower Bavaria. These undignified concessions and the folly of Henry, who, in the hope of securing his succession to the throne, entered into a base alliance with France, merely served to furnish the pope with fresh weapons, to rouse the suspicions of the electoral princes, and to increase his unpopularity.

John XXII., after declaring Italy forever independent of the empire, expired, in 1334, at Avignon, leaving immense wealth, most of which had found its way into his coffers from Germany, whence he had also drawn the enormous sums lavished by him upon France.—Louis was, meanwhile, favored in Germany by public opinion, averse to the papal intrigues at Avignon, by Albert the lame, whose love of peace counterbalanced the restlessness of John of Bohemia, and by a quarrel that again broke out between the houses of Luxemburg and Habsburg.

Henry of Carinthia and Tyrol, ex-king of Bohemia, died, 1335, leaving a daughter, the celebrated Margaretha Maultasche (with pouting lips, a name she received either on account of her large mouth, or from her residence, the castle of Maultasch, between Botzen and Meran), whom John of Bohemia instantly wedded to his son John Henry, then in his eighth year, with the intention of extending his sway over the territories of her late father. The emperor and the Habsburgs, jealous of this addition to the power of the Luxemburg family, instantly leagued against him, and the Habsburgs were declared Henry's successors. Margaretha chiefly distinguished herself by laying siege to the castles of the opposite party during this feud, which was put an end to in

1336, by the division of the disputed inheritance between the rival houses, to which the emperor was forced to give his assent. Dreading lest the union of the late rivals might be turned against himself, he entered into negotiation with the pope, Benedict XII., the tool of France, who compelled him to refuse the emperor's petition, upon which Louis degraded himself so far as to address the French monarch personally, and to promise not to ally himself with any of that king's enemies. Philip, notwithstanding these concessions, still refusing his assent to Louis's release from the interdict, the emperor broke off the negotiation, and offered to aid the pretensions of Edward, king of England, to the throne of France. War was declared between the empire and France, and the restoration of the Arelat was demanded; and so powerful was the force of public opinion among the citizens and the lower orders throughout the empire in favor of the emperor that the princes at length took the part of their long-neglected sovereign, and, following the example of the bishops, who had met at Spires under the presidency of Henry of Mayence, until now a zealous Guelph, and had agreed to effect his release from the interdict, assembled at Rense, where, moved by the emperor's remonstrances against their base submission to a pope, a creature of France, they declared that the supremacy of the German emperor above all other sovereigns of the earth was exclusively bestowed by the election of the German princes, without its being ratified or the emperor being crowned by the pope; that the emperor was not the vassal, but the protector of the church; that, on the demise of the emperor, the pope should no longer usurp the vicegerency of the empire; and finally, prohibited the publication of the papal bulls within the empire without the previous consent of the German bishops. These resolutions of the electoral princes were supported by the cities; and the priests who refused to uphold the emperor were expelled. The hopes of the people, raised by the conference that took place between the emperor and the English monarch at Coblenz, were, however, deceived; the princes,

lately so energetic, were devoid of sincerity, and Louis greatly diminished his popularity by his acceptance of a sum of money from the British king, whose alliance he was shortly afterward, to the extreme discontent of the people, induced to abandon by John of Bohemia, in the vain hope of a reconciliation with France, and of a release from the papal interdict.

The discord that prevailed among the princes had, meanwhile, encouraged the free spirit of the Swiss. The confederated peasantry had gained skill and discipline in the incessant warfare with their noble and ecclesiastical neighbors, and strength by their union with the inhabitants of other cantons and towns, which had, like them, thrown off the yoke. Berne joined the confederation in 1339.

The emperor, while carrying on his wretched negotiations with the pope, had withdrawn to Bavaria, on which he bestowed an excellent code of laws. Lower Bavaria also fell to him on the extinction of the reigning house on the death of Henry, and the conduct of Margaretha Maultasche, who, dissatisfied with her youthful husband, John Henry, had divorced herself from him, and wedded Louis the Elder, brought the Tyrol into the imperial family. John of Bohemia, at that time engaged in opposing the Polish party in Silesia, in which he was aided by his son Wenzel (surnamed Charles after the French king, at whose court he had been educated), no sooner learned of the defection of the Tyrol than, hastening to Albert the Lamb, he entreated him to unite with him against the house of Wittelsbach. Albert consented, and the confederates were naturally joined by France and by the pope, Clement V., who dwelt at Avignon, like a Turk in his harem, surrounded by his mistresses. A fearful anathema was hurled against the emperor, whose courage again sank, and he yielded to every condition prescribed by the pope; namely, to lay the crown at his feet, to place the whole of his possessions at his disposal, to perform every penance he thought fit to impose, and to make every concession he chose to demand for France; notwithstanding

which, the pope still refused to raise the interdict, on account of the disinclination of the French monarch. Louis, nevertheless, succeeded in pacifying John of Bohemia, by indemnifying him for the loss of the Tyrol by the possession of the Lausitz, which, in point of fact, belonged to Brandenburg. The death of William IV., earl of Holland and Hennegau, who was drowned, together with two hundred and fifty knights and ten thousand men, in 1345, during an expedition against the West Frisicians, brought Holland and Hennegau to the emperor in right of his wife, Margaretha, the late earl's sister; and he accordingly sent his son, William, to Holland, where he gained great popularity among the people by the grant of great privileges, and the friendship of his neighbors, the counts of Juliers and of Guelders, whom he created dukes of the empire.

This accession of wealth and influence greatly enraged the anti-imperial party, more particularly John of Bohemia, who, moreover, suspecting that Louis had been the instigator of a conspiracy formed against him by Casimir of Poland during his absence in Prussia, set up his son Charles, in revenge, as a competitor for the throne, and the pope, delighted with the scheme, raised Prague to an archbishopric. The assent of Louis's numerous enemies was quickly gained. His cousin, Rupert of the Pfalz, surnamed the Red, attempted to seize Bavaria, but was repulsed; and Charles, who had laid siege to the Maultasche in her castle in the Tyrol, was also speedily compelled to retreat before Louis the Elder. John of Bohemia, who had, meanwhile, received permission from the pope, who merely acted in the name of France, for his son's election, in return for which he promised to aid France against England, now canvassed the German princes, and convoked them to Rense, where shortly before they had so energetically supported Louis, but where they now proclaimed Charles emperor, 1346. The people, however, rebelled. Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle closed their gates against the usurper, and, notwithstanding the aid given by the archbishops, the defeat of his opponents

near Coblentz, and the power of his Guelphic partisans in Austria, Hungary and Italy, he was unable to gain possession of the Tyrol, whence he and his mercenary troops were expelled by Margaretha Maultasche.

While these events were passing, Louis expired during a bear hunt at Furstenfeld, in the vicinity of Munich, in the arms of a peasant, 1347.

CLXXVIII. *The Battle of Crecy—The Black Death—
The Flaggelants—The Murder of the Jews*

FRANCE and the pope regarded the emperor given by them to Germany as their tool. Their whole power, however, failed in reducing the Flemish citizens, although abandoned by the rest of Germany, and on ill terms with their nobility and rulers, to subjection. Bruges, unaided by the neighboring towns, was, in 1328, compelled to yield to the allied forces of France and Bohemia; but the French did not long triumph. Jacob von Artevelde, a wealthy brewer of Ghent, but a man of noble birth, opposed the attempts made by Louis of Nevers, earl of Flanders, to humble the pride of the citizens, and, in unison with Siger von Kortryk, concluded a commercial treaty in the name of the Flemish cities with Edward, king of England. Siger fell into the hands of Louis, who ordered him to execution, upon which a general insurrection, headed by Artevelde, ensued, and this popular leader speedily acquired greater influence in Flanders than had ever been enjoyed by her earls.

Charles IV., the tool of papal and French policy, now found himself constrained, owing to his dependence upon his father, to serve the French monarch against England, although, as will hereafter be seen, he was too prudent a politician and too sensible of his dignity to allow himself to be long enchained to the petty interest of a French king. Lothringia had long favored France. The duke, Frederick, had fallen in Philip's cause in Flanders, and his son, Rudolf, was also that monarch's ally. Edward of England, on landing

in Flanders, was, notwithstanding the death of Artevelde, who, falsely suspected of a design of selling Flanders to England, had been assassinated by his countrymen, received with open arms by the citizens, and joined by Henry the Iron of Holstein. The French suffered a total defeat at Crecy, August 26, 1346. The emperor, uninterested in the fate of the battle, fled, while his brave father, King John of Bohemia, who had been blind for many years,¹ bound between two men-at-arms, plunged headlong into the thickest of the fight, in the vain hope of turning the battle. With him fell Rudolf of Lothringia, Louis of Nevers, and all the Germans who had so uselessly ventured their honor and their lives in a stranger's cause, in that of their hereditary foe. When the death of the German princes was told to the English king, he exclaimed, "O ye Germans! how could ye die for a French king!" The sword of the blind Bohemian king bore the inscription, "Ich dien," "I serve," that is, "God, the ladies, and right," which was on this occasion assumed by the Prince of Wales as his motto.

The alliance between the English and Flemish proved but of short duration, and Louis II. of Male, the son of Louis of Nevers, was raised to the earldom on solemnly swearing to respect the liberties of the citizens. France was compelled to restore Ryssel, Douai, and Bethune. Lothringia, and Henry, bishop of Verdun, who had made a formal cession of his bishopric to France, returned to their allegiance to the empire. The Hansa greatly distinguished itself, in 1344, under Henry von Lacken, whom Louis had sent to command its troops, by sea and by land, against the Swedes. Thuringia was a prey to intestine feuds 1342.

Fearful natural visitations and signs now filled all Europe with alarm. In 1337, appeared a great comet; during the three ensuing years, an enormous multitude of locusts; in 1348, the end of the world seemed at hand; an earthquake of extraordinary violence devastated Cyprus, Greece, Italy,

¹ John had lost one of his eyes during his Polish expedition, the other through the ignorance of his medical attendants.

and the Alpine valleys as far as Basel. Mountains were swallowed up. In Carinthia, thirty villages and the tower of Villach were reduced to heaps of ruins. The air was thick, pestilential, and stifling. Wine fermented in the casks. Fiery meteors appeared in the heavens. A gigantic pillar of flame was seen hovering over the papal palace at Avignon. A second earthquake, that destroyed almost the whole of Basel, occurred in 1356. These horrors were succeeded by a dreadful pestilence, called the Black Death, its victims being suddenly covered with black spots like burns, and often instantly dropping down dead. It first appeared in China, whence it traversed Asia and spread over Europe. At Basel fourteen thousand people fell victims to it, at Strasburg and Erfurt sixteen thousand, and so on in proportion throughout Germany; and yet, according to the historians of that period, Germany suffered less than other countries. In Osnabruck, only seven married couples remained unseparated by death. Of the Franciscan Minorites in Germany, without including those in foreign parts, there died 124,434, whence a conclusion may be drawn both of the fury of the pestilence and of the amazing number of this order, in which all took refuge to whom the courtly manners and luxury of the rest of the priesthood were obnoxious. Traces of the moral reformation of the church were, even at that period, perceivable throughout Germany. Besides the fathers and the lay brothers, there arose a third class of these monks, the Tertiarians, who had no monasteries, but lived freely among the laity, and practiced the severest penance. Their number was without doubt increased by the repeated disturbance of divine service,¹ which the interdicted laity performed for themselves on the refusal of the priests; and the idea of atoning for sins by the performance of severe penance naturally occurred when absolution was no longer dispensed in the churches. Thus arose the orders of Beguines, who, besides the imposition of pen-

¹ In quibus annis homines plures nati et mortui fuerunt, qui divina officia nunquam celebrari viderunt. — *Malleolus*.

ance, attended the sick; the Beghards, probably so termed from their founder, a man from Picardy; Lollards (*gebete lallende*, prayer-mutterers), etc., whose sincere piety, which sometimes degenerated to mere enthusiasm, strongly contrasted with the levity, license, luxury, and pride of the ecclesiastics.

These ideas and sects were already common throughout Germany, when the great pestilence, which swept away a third of the inhabitants of Europe, appeared. The day of judgment was declared to be at hand, and a letter, said to have been addressed from Jerusalem by the Creator of the world to his sinning creatures, was dispersed throughout Europe by a wandering tribe of penitents or Flagellants, who, like their Italian predecessors in the thirteenth century, cruelly lashed themselves as they went along singing penitential songs. They marched in good order under various leaders, and were distinguished by white hats with red crosses. These penitents at first created great enthusiasm, which gradually decreased as the pestilence died away, and in 1349, Clement VI., who rightly beheld in them the commencement of a great reformation, launched a bull against and persecuted them as heretics. They preached, confessed, and forgave sins, pronounced the absolution granted by the church to be of no avail, upbraided the priests for their hypocrisy and luxury, and taught that all men were brethren, and equal in the sight of God. Persecution raised their enthusiasm to frenzy, and the truths they at first inculcated were perverted by pride and hatred; some even gave themselves out as the Messiah. The enthusiasm of the Beghards was allied with the greatest license, which, at a later period, so strikingly reappeared in the Adamites and Anabaptists. In a council held at Vienne, they were charged with believing everything to be right and divine to which their natures inclined them; for instance, community of wives (an idea resuscitated by the Socialists of modern days). According to Cornerus, they believed God to be neither bad nor good, and what was termed bad to be divine; that man was God,

and that God could not have created the world without him; "homo operatur quod Deus operatur, et creavit una cum Deo cœlum et terram, et est genitor verbi eterni, et Deus sine tali homine nihil facere potest," like the idea of Hegel, of God's first attaining consciousness in man. Man could therefore only act by the inspiration of God, and when man's inclinations led him to sin, it was a divine impulse on which he acted, and real penance consisted in giving way to this impulse, in order not to resist the will of God, "et quia Deus vult me peccasse, ideo nollem ego quod peccata non commissem, et hæc vera est pœnitentia."

The Flagellants, so long as they possessed the power, greatly tyrannized over the Jews. The hatred of this persecuted race had slumbered since the crusades, but now awoke with redoubled fury in Austria and Bavaria, on account of the desolation caused by the prodigious quantities of locusts (which spread over a space of three German miles¹ in breadth, and more miles in length than the most rapid horse could gallop in a day), which was declared to be a punishment inflicted by Heaven on account of the desecration of the Host by the Jews, and a dreadful massacre ensued in both these countries in 1337. The severe penalties inflicted upon the murderers by the emperor Louis put a stop to the slaughter. In 1349, the appearance of the pestilence and of the Flagellants was again a signal for massacre; the pestilence was declared the effect of poison administered by this unhappy people; the infatuated populace could no longer be restrained; from Berne, where the city council gave orders for the slaughter to commence, it spread over the whole of Switzerland and Germany; thousands of Jews were slain or burned alive, and mercy was merely extended to children who were baptized in the presence of their parents, and to young maidens, some of whom escaped from the arms of their ravishers to throw themselves headlong into the flames that consumed their kindred. All who could, took refuge in Poland, where Casimir, a second Ahasuerus,

¹ Nine English.

protected them from love for Esther, a beautiful Jewess. Poland has, since this period, swarmed with Jews. The persecution, however, no sooner ceased, than they reappeared in Germany.

CLXXIX. *Charles the Fourth*

CHARLES IV. was the first of the emperors who introduced the foreign policy against which his predecessors on the throne had so manfully and unsuccessfully striven. The Habsburgs had made some weak attempts of a similar nature, but it was not until this reign that modern policy took deep root in Germany. This emperor appeared to think that honor had vanished, leaving caution in its stead.

Louis the Elder had succeeded to the claims of the house of Wittelsbach, which it was Charles's primary object to destroy. The failure of the Hohenstaufen, of his grandfather Henry, and of Louis of Bavaria, clearly proved to him the impossibility of success as emperor, and induced him, like the emperor Albert, to do his utmost to raise his house on the wreck of the empire; instead, however, like that emperor, of increasing his power by open violence, he impoisoned German policy with every hypocritical art, by the practice of courtly treachery and secret murder, in which he had become an adept in France. Primogeniture, first introduced by him into his family, afterward passed into that of Habsburg, and, at all events, prevented the dismemberment of the empire, whose external power was thereby increased, notwithstanding the moral paralyzation of its effect.

The Ascaniers and the archbishop of Magdeburg, the natural rivals to Brandenburg, instigated by the emperor, raised a pretender, a miller, one Jacob Rehbock, whom they declared to be Waldemar, to whom he bore a great resemblance, in opposition to Louis the Elder, who, unprepared for this attack, lost the whole of Brandenburg with the exception of Briezen, since named, on account of its fidelity, Treuenbriezen, and Frankfort on the Oder, which was unsuccessfully besieged by the emperor.

The Wittelsbacher and their adherents, Brandenburg, Pfalz, Mayence, and Saxony, had offered the imperial crown to the conqueror of Crecy, which the English parliament, fearing lest an emperor of Germany might forget his duty as king of England, would not permit him to accept. Their choice then fell upon Gunther von Schwarzburg, a knight distinguished for his feats of arms, in whose favor they gained over the Poles, the ancient foes of the house of Luxemburg. Charles IV., however, craftily entered into negotiation with Edward, to whom he proved the necessity of an alliance between them against France, drew the Habsburg army on his side by giving his daughter, Catherine, in marriage to Rudolf, the son of Albert the Lamb; and, with equal skill, dissolved the Wittelsbach confederacy by wedding Anna, the daughter of the Pfalzgraf Rupert, by ceding Brandenburg to Louis the Elder, and declaring Waldemar, whom he had himself invested with that electorate, an impostor; Louis the Elder, with equal perfidy, sacrificing Gunther, who was shortly afterward poisoned by one of Charles's emissaries, 1347. Gunther was a bold and energetic man, and had acquired great popularity by a manifesto, in which he had pledged himself to maintain the imperial prerogative and to pursue the policy of the Hohenstaufen.

Charles stood alone at the head of the house of Luxemburg, while that of Wittelsbach was weakened and disunited by subdivision, and the rest of the princes of the empire were either intimidated or engaged in family feuds. By his diplomacy, marked as it was by fraud and cunning, he raised not only the power of his own family, but also that of the empire, and by means of these petty arts succeeded where the Hohenstaufen with all their valor and magnanimity had failed. He dissolved the alliance between the pope and France, and gained more by this diplomatic stroke than many a campaign could have effected.¹ His stay during

¹ His motto was, "Optimum, aliena insania frui."

his youth at the French court, and at the papal palace at Avignon, had rendered him acquainted with the jealousy secretly existing between the two allies, with the desire of the pontiff to escape from thralldom and to return to Rome, from which the dread of again falling under the imperial yoke alone withheld him. By the most fawning humility, feigned piety, and genuine patience, Charles at length succeeded in winning his confidence. The dangerous position in which France was gradually placed by England also aided his plans, and he bestowed great favors upon Philip the Bold, the younger son of John, king of France, who had inherited Burgundy, and whose ambitious extension of his newly-acquired dominions was ill viewed by France, 1358.

Charles's views upon Italy, far from extending to the re-annexation of that country to the empire, were circumscribed to the ceremony of coronation at Rome, which he entreated as a favor in order to prove to the pope his little respect for the electoral assembly at Rense, and his profound reverence for the papal sanction. With this intention, he visited Rome in a private capacity, without heeding the Italian factions, and submitted to every command sent by the pope from Avignon, even to the degrading condition of quitting the city immediately on the conclusion of the ceremony.—During the absence of the pope, the Romans had rebelled against the tyranny of the nobility, and had formed a republic, at the head of which stood Cola di Rienzi, who, on the emperor's arrival, hastened to his presence in the hope of bringing about the restoration of the ancient Roman empire; but Charles, taking advantage of the confidence with which this enthusiast had placed himself within his power, instantly threw him into chains and delivered him to the pope, Innocent VI., who sent him back again to Rome, there to work as his tool; the Romans, however, speedily perceived that Cola, instead of fostering the ancient rights of the people, was a mere papal instrument, and an insurrection ensued, in which he was assassinated. The Ghibelline faction gained an unexpected accession of strength; weary of the wretched

state of disunion, their hopes centered in Charles as the restorer of the national unity of Italy, while the pope, in order to retain his supremacy in that country, incessantly promoted dissension and division. In the same spirit with which Dante had formerly addressed Henry VII., did Petrarch now implore Charles IV. to restore Italy to the empire; a step that would solely have produced a re-alliance between the pope and France; the fate of his predecessors had, moreover, taught Charles but too well the measure of Ghibelline faith. He therefore contented himself with bestowing great marks of distinction upon Petrarch, and with publicly saluting the beautiful and celebrated Laura, immortalized in his sonnets. He even fomented the disputes between the petty Italian princes and states, by the free sale of privileges and declarations of independence, and collected a vast number of relics in order to flatter the pope, and to adorn the churches in Bohemia. The Ghibellines, enraged at his conduct, set fire to the house in which he lodged at Pisa, and he narrowly escaped with his life. On reaching Rome, he was received with great demonstrations of friendship and respect by the papal legates, and, the day after the coronation, secretly quitted Rome, under pretext of following the chase, in order to avoid being proclaimed her temporal sovereign.—Ten years later, he reaped the fruit of this policy in the favor of Urban V., whom he visited at Avignon, and who, even more than his predecessor, strove to free himself from the trammels in which he was held by France. When, in 1365, Charles was crowned king of Burgundy (Arelat) at Arles, he pacified France by ceding the hereditary possession of that country to the Dauphin, so called from the Delphinat, which fell to the crown prince of France in 1348. Two years after, in 1367, Urban V. re-entered Rome, and, in the following year, was visited by Charles, whom he met at Viterbo. The emperor afterward conducted him to St. Peter's, holding the bridle of his horse. Success had attended his schemes. The disunion between the pope and France, and his own reconciliation with the former, had

been effected. The next pontiff, Gregory XI., resided at Rome, and was universally recognized as the successor of St. Peter, while the antipope at Avignon, elected by the French cardinals, was merely acknowledged in France.

With the same skill with which he had disunited the pope and France, Charles now strove to reintegrate the empire, and to quell her internal dissensions; but he degraded his object by the means by which he sought its attainment. His policy toward the house of Wittelsbach was truly diabolical. The Habsburgs and some other princely houses escaped by retiring into obscurity. Several of the petty princes, as, for instance, Luxemburg and Bar, received an accession of dignity. He also contrived to place the ecclesiastical princes under his influence, and to remain on good terms with the pope by means of his legate, Cardinal Talleyrand.

The golden bull, drawn up in 1356, is a circumstantial proof of the power to which Charles had, at that period, attained. By it the number of electoral princes was definitively reduced to seven, including the three spiritual electors of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, and the four temporal ones selected by Charles for political purposes, Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxon-Wittenberg, and Rhenish Pfalz. Charles already possessed Bohemia, and was on the point of taking possession of Brandenburg, while the weak and servile side-branches of Wittelsbach and of Ascan reigned in the Pfalz and in Wittenberg. The electors were also declared almost independent sovereign princes, and exercised the "*jus de non evocando*," which deprived their subjects of the right of appeal to the emperor; privileges bestowed by Charles, not as personal favors, but with the intention of enlarging his hereditary possessions, and by intermarriage, heritage, purchase, etc., of re-establishing the unity of the empire, which explains the exclusion of the house of Habsburg, to which Charles was unwilling to grant the same advantage, from the number of electoral princes. This bull is silent in respect to the supremacy of the emperor in Italy. It was in great part drawn up by Cardinal Talleyrand.

Charles was named (falsely, for he did more for the empire than any emperor since the Hohenstaufen) the stepfather of the empire, but the father of Bohemia. His person discovered his Bohemian descent, his resemblance to his mother being stronger than that to his father. He was of diminutive stature, but thickset, carried his head ill and drooping forward, had high cheek-bones and coal-black hair. His Slavonian appearance curiously contrasted with his sumptuous attire (for he seldom laid aside the imperial crown and mantle) and with his French manners and education. He spoke five languages, and was deeply versed in all the learning of the times. Part of his biography, written by himself, is still extant. He also drew out the plan for the new part of the cities of Prague and Breslau.

In 1348, he bestowed a new code of laws upon Bohemia, and, in 1355, declared Moravia, Silesia, and the Lausitz inseparable from that country. He also granted the greatest privileges to the aristocracy and to the cities, encouraged mining and agriculture, rendered the Moldau navigable as far as the Elbe, brought German artificers into the country, and converted the whole of Bohemia into a garden. In the midst of the smiling country stood the noble city of Prague, whose fine public edifices, the regal Hradschin, etc., and the celebrated bridges, are his work. Carlsbad was also discovered by and named after him. He bestowed equal care upon Silesia, where he introduced the cloth manufactures of Flanders, and laid the foundation of the linen manufacture for which it became noted. German privileges and the German language quickly spread throughout Lower Silesia. In order to preserve his amicable relations with Poland, he wedded, on the death of Anna, a daughter of the house of Piast, Elisabeth, the niece of Casimir of Poland, a woman of such extraordinary strength that she could wrench a horseshoe in two. In the other provinces of his empire he gave a great impulse to agriculture, manufacture, and trade, and Balbin remarks of him that his age was that of masons and architects. Nor were the moral interests of his sub-

jects neglected. He founded the first German university at Prague, April 6, 1348. The Habsburgs followed his example, and, in 1365, founded a university at Vienna, and the Pfalzgraf founded another, in 1386, at Heidelberg. The ecclesiastical princes emulated their example, and Cologne also received a university in 1388; Erfurt in 1392.—The instruction was divided into four faculties, the three first of which were the sciences, theology, jurisprudence, and medicine; the professors of these sciences received the title of doctor. The fourth faculty comprehended the liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric, music, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, whose professors were termed *magistri*. Numbers of the aristocracy, and still greater numbers of the citizens, crowded the new lecture-rooms. The university of Prague ere long contained seven thousand students.

The spirit of the new universities was, in consequence of Charles's policy, at first wavering and undecided. Numbers of Minorites still, as in the time of Louis of Bavaria, impatient for the reformation of the church, crowded to them. The school-divines of Oxford, and even those of Paris, since the escape of the pope from the shackles imposed by France, had declared against popery. The terms on which the emperor stood with the pontiff, however, rendered the first teachers in the German universities, notwithstanding their ardent desire for reformation in the church, fearful of promulgating their doctrines. Henry of Hesse, and Marsilius ab Inghen, the heads of the universities of Vienna and Heidelberg, by whom scholasticism was spread throughout Germany, acquired great note; but the moderation for which they were distinguished was not long imitated. Hierarchical power still strove for the ascendancy; the universities were gradually filled with papal adherents, and, in the ecclesiastical provinces, were merely founded as ultramontane schools. Roman sophistry quickly spread throughout Germany, but was opposed, in 1391, by John Tauler, a monk of Strasbourg, who, struck with horror at the lies beneath which the pure doctrines of the Christian faith lay concealed, attempted

to introduce purer tenets among the people. This popular preacher of German mysticism was, however, too mild, and his followers were too much wrapped up in ecstatic devotion, to effect the slightest reformation in the church.

CLXXX. *Contests between the Citizens and the Aristocracy—Wars of the Hansa*

ALBERT THE LAME (1358) had four sons, Rudolf the Handsome or the Founder, who succeeded to the Tyrol, Leopold the Pious, who fell at Sempach, Albert with the Tuft (so named from the tuft of hair he bore on his helm in memory of his wife, in whose honor he founded an order of knighthood), and Frederick. This family no longer ventured to contest for the throne, but sought to extend and to maintain its possessions by means less likely to attract attention. Its authority was supported by the pope and by the nobility, and it consequently suppressed every heretical tendency among the people, persecuted the Waldenses, and deprived the cities of their privileges. Vienna lost her ancient constitution and corporative regulations, and was raised to higher importance by becoming the ducal residence. The university, founded by Rudolf, had a papal tendency. The nobility, meanwhile, acquired greater power by their support of the ducal family, and the peasantry were gradually reduced to deeper servility.

In Switzerland, where liberty had made rapid progress, a fresh contest broke out between the confederated cities and the Habsburgs. Zurich, Glaris and Zug joined the confederation. Peace was, however, at length restored by the intervention of the emperor. The confederation retained the freedom and privileges it had gained, which were recognized by the emperor, to whom it swore fealty. No injustice was committed; the Habsburgs were paid their due, and the ancient right of the free peasantry to be under the jurisdiction of the crown, without infringing their peculiar obligations to the monasteries or their governors, was confirmed. Rudolf

built, in expiation of his conduct, the long bridge across the lake of Zurich near Rapperschwyl, for the convenience of pilgrims to Einsiedeln.

Hostilities between England and France meanwhile ceased, and the emperor, during his stay at Strasburg, on his return from his second visit to Rome, was offered by the knight de Cervola a body of forty thousand mercenaries freshly dismissed from the service of the English king. These mercenaries were termed Guglers, from their Gugel hats or pointed helmets. The emperor refusing to take them into his pay, they began to plunder the country, but were defeated and dispersed by the imperial troops, by Wenzel of Luxemburg and the duke of Brabant. Nine years later a fresh and numerous body of Guglers under Ingelram de Coucy, who claimed part of Alsace in right of his mother, Catherine of Habsburg, besieged Leopold in his castle of Breisach, and laid waste the country, in which they were unopposed by Leopold, probably from the hope of their attacking the Swiss confederation, for which purpose John de Vienne, bishop of Basel, invited them into the Bernese territory. The pass of the Hauenstein was left open by the Count Rudolf von Nidau, who fled on their approach, and forty thousand men, including six thousand English knights, the wildest of whom was Jevan ap Eynion ap Griffith "with the golden hat," poured across the Jura, and laid the country waste by fire and sword as far as the Buttisholz, near Lucerne, where three thousand of them were slain by six hundred peasants; the rest were cut to pieces in two engagements by the Bernese (1376). Coucy escaped back to France. The bishop of Basel was punished by the defection of Biel, which he had caused to be set on fire, and which now joined the confederation. Leopold was afterward expelled Basel, on account of his insolence, by the citizens. Freiburg in the Breisgau was illegally sold to the Habsburgs by the imperial governor (1366); a transaction unnoticed by the emperor, who desired to keep on good terms with that house.

The Habsburgs were more fortunate in the East, where they had gained Carinthia and the Tyrol, and entered into alliance with the counts of Görz (Goritzia') and the Visconti. The citizens of Trieste, in 1369, implored the aid of Austria against Venice, and, in 1380, that splendid city and harbor fell into the hands of the Habsburgs. While in Upper Germany the Habsburgs opposed the confederated peasantry and the cities, the aristocracy and the cities contested for superiority in the central and northern provinces, and a struggle took place equally great and important in its results as that between the church and the empire.

Had all the cities in Germany confederated against the nobility, they might easily have overturned the empire, but they were scattered too far apart, and were, moreover, too jealous of each other's prosperity to tolerate such a concentration of power or the pre-eminence of any single city. Lubeck might have become the Venice of the North, had not the other Hanse towns been blinded by petty jealousy to their political interest.

The power of the cities was, nevertheless, very great. The citizens, proud of their newly-gained liberties, emulated the knights in skill and bravery, and far surpassed them in military knowledge; fighting in serried ranks, etc. New tactics and improvements in the art of siege were introduced by the burghers, and the well-disciplined city regiments, each distinguished by a uniform in the colors of their city, first founded the fame of the German infantry. The use of firearms, destined to destroy chivalry by rendering personal strength unavailing against art, was first introduced by the citizens. In 1354, Berthold Schwarz, a monk at Freiburg in the Breisgau, by chance discovered gunpowder, and was killed by the explosion. The first powder-mill was erected at Lubeck in 1360. John of Aarau was the first celebrated cannon-founder, and founded his first cannon, in

¹ Now famous as the retreat of the Bourbon dynasty and the burial-place of Charles X., ex-king of France, 1837.—*Trans.*

1372, for the city of Augsburg. Stones were at first made use of instead of balls, which came into use in 1387.

The contest was carried on with the greatest obstinacy in Swabia, where Eberhard the Riotous, who equaled his father in wild independence, had been confirmed by Charles in the government of Lower Swabia. His tyranny roused the cities to open rebellion, and Charles came in person to Esslingen for the purpose of restoring peace; the publication of the golden bull, and its prohibition of the reception of fresh Pfahlbürger (suburbans), however, raised a suspicion of his intention to deprive the cities of their corporative privileges, and to reinstate the great burgher families, and the citizens of Esslingen rose in open insurrection. Charles was compelled to seek safety in flight, but was revenged by Eberhard, who reduced the city in 1360. For this service he was rewarded with the government of Upper Swabia, and the debts he had contracted with the Jews were declared null by the emperor. Notwithstanding these favors, he leagued with Habsburg and refused obedience to his liege, upon which he was put out of the ban of the empire, but being defeated at Scharndorf, in 1360, and imploring the emperor to allow him to retain his possession in Bohemia as his vassal, he was, consequently, not only pardoned, but restored to his government and permitted to demand reparation from the cities, whose power the emperor willingly saw humbled.

The tyranny of the Swabian governor at length incited the nobility against him and in 1367 the Margrave of Baden and the Rhenish Pfalzgraf leagued with the count of Eberstein against him; while in Upper Swabia two orders of knighthood conspired against the cities, which renewed their confederation in 1370, and vainly sought to persuade Eberhard, who was now sorely pressed, to join their alliance. The nobles, seeing their danger, made peace with their foe, and the citizens suffered a signal defeat in 1372. Charles once more favored the victor, and empowered him to levy an imperial tax upon the humbled cities, which again

revolted. Ulm was unsuccessfully besieged by the emperor in person, and a fresh and more extensive confederation was formed between the cities. It was in vain that the emperor pronounced them out of the ban of the empire; they refused to lay down their arms, and the troops of Wurtemberg were defeated in a bloody engagement, in which eighty-six noble knights fell, at Reutlingen, in 1377. The citizens were again victorious at Kaufbeuren, and those of Ulm leveled all the neighboring castles with the ground.

In the ensuing year, 1378, the emperor expired, and the contest between the cities and the aristocracy burst out with redoubled fury in every part of the empire. The Hansa had, meanwhile, greatly distinguished itself, and had forced Waldemar III. of Denmark, and Hakon of Norway, to sue for the most disgraceful terms of peace. The princes of Holstein and of Lower Germany, at strife among themselves, vainly sought to humble the cities. Magdeburg, the most powerful city of Central Germany, withstood the repeated attacks of the nobility, until the city council, erroneously imagining that a system of defense would put a stop to all further attempts, inscribed upon the city flag, "We fight not, but defend," and foolishly followed that maxim. Had the cities of Germany imitated the example set them by those of Italy, they must, like them, have ruled the whole country. Charles IV., unable to check the disorder prevalent throughout the empire, meditated the future restoration of order by means of an alliance with the Hansa, and in order to gain a firm footing in the North made the valuable acquisition of Brandenburg, and fixed his royal residence at Tangermünde, whence he commanded the entrance to the Northern Ocean. It was his desire to be declared the head of the Hansa, and had the Hansa, alive to its true interests, formed this potent alliance at a period when the princes were weakened by intestine broils, the whole of Germany must have presented a far different aspect at the present day. But the cities, proud of the power they had gained by their industry and valor, deemed the emperor's alliance unnecessary, and, although

they treated him with the greatest personal respect, refused to make the slightest concession, misunderstood his great political schemes, and rejected his proposals.

CLXXXI. *Wenzel—Great Struggle for Freedom*

CHARLES IV. sought by every means in his power to secure to his sons the possessions he had acquired. The eldest, Wenzel, was brought up in pomp and luxury, at an early age initiated into the affairs of the empire, and, during his father's lifetime, declared his successor on the throne by the bribed electors. The second, Sigmund, was united to Mary, the daughter of Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, in the expectation of succeeding to those countries, and received Brandenburg. The third, John, was invested with the Lausitz, and surnamed "Von Gorlitz." Charles also bestowed Luxemburg on his brother Wenzel, and Moravia on his younger brother, Jodocus.

Wenzel, called at too early an age to participate in the government of the empire, treated affairs of state with ridicule or entirely neglected them, in order to give himself up to idleness and drunkenness. At one moment he jested, at another burst into the most brutal fits of rage. The Germans, with whom he never interfered beyond occasionally holding a useless diet at Nuremberg, deemed him a fool, while the Bohemians, who, on account of his residence at Prague, were continually exposed to his savage caprices, regarded him as a furious tyrant. The possessions with which the Bohemian nobility had formerly been invested by the crown exciting his cupidity, he invited the whole of the aristocracy to meet him at Willamow, where he received them under a black tent, that opened on either side into a white and a red one. The nobles were allowed to enter one by one, and were commanded to declare what lands they possessed as gifts from the crown. Those who voluntarily ceded their lands were conducted to the white tent and feasted, those who refused were instantly beheaded in the

red tent. When a number of these nobles had thus been put to death, the rest, perceiving what was going forward, obeyed (1389). The massacre of three thousand Jews in Prague, on account of one of that nation having ridiculed the sacrament, gave Wenzel the idea of declaring all debts, owed by Christians to Jews, null and void; thus putting into effect the Jewish law, which enjoined all debts to be forgiven every seven years; a law they had never put into practice toward Christians. The queen, Johanna, being killed by one of the large hounds that ever accompanied her husband, he wedded the princess Sophia of Bavaria, 1392. It was in the ensuing year that the notorious cruelty with which he treated St. Nepomuck was enacted. One of the royal chamberlains having caused two priests to be put to death for the commission of some dreadful crime, the archbishop refused to tolerate this encroachment on the prerogative of the church, and placed the chamberlain under an interdict. Wenzel was roused to fury at this proceeding, and the archbishop sought safety in flight. Several of the lower dignitaries of the church were seized. The dean, Krnowa, dealt the king such a heavy blow on the head with his sword-knot as to draw blood. Two lower ecclesiastics, John von Nepomuck (Pomuk) and Puchnik, were put to the rack in order to force them to confess the designs of the archbishop, and by whom he had been instigated; Wenzel, irritated by their constant refusal, seized a torch, and with his own hand assisted to burn the sufferers. They still persisted in silence. John von Nepomuck was cast, during the night, headlong from the great bridge over the Moldau (where his statue now stands) into the stream. He was afterward canonized by the church as a martyr, and made the patron saint of all bridges. Puchnik escaped with his life, and was led by the king, now filled with remorse for his horrid cruelty, to the royal treasury, where he aided him to fill his pockets, and even his boots, so heavily with gold, as to render him unable to stir.

Sigmund, at length conscious of the ruin into which the

folly of the king's conduct was hurrying his family, concerted measures with Jodocus, Albert of Austria, and William of Misnia, and suddenly seizing his brother at Znaym, in 1393, carried him prisoner to the castle of Wiltberg in Austria. John von Gorlitz, however, induced the princes to set him at liberty, on account of the scandal raised by such a transaction. Wenzel was no sooner free than, inviting the Bohemian nobles, who had assisted at his incarceration, to a banquet, he caused them to be beheaded, and poisoned his brother John, who had undertaken the control of his affairs in Bohemia.

The foreign relations of the empire were at this period extremely favorable, and merely required a skillful statesman at the head of affairs to turn them to advantage. The dangerous alliance between the pope and France had become gradually weaker, and when, on the demise of Gregory in 1378, the Italians and Germans placed Urban VI. on the pontifical throne in Rome, the French raised an antipope, Clement VII., at Avignon, a great schism arose in the church herself. The popes thundered their anathemas against each other, and an opportunity was now afforded for temporal sovereigns to intervene between them, as the pope had formerly mediated between rival princes. France was fully occupied with England, and the views of Naples upon the succession to the throne of Hungary had failed. On the death of Louis of Hungary and Poland in 1382, Sigmund hastened into Poland in order to lay claim to the throne of that country in right of his wife, Maria, Louis's eldest daughter. The Poles, however, expelled him the country, and compelled him to deliver up to them Hedwig, Louis's younger daughter. Maria and her mother, Elisabeth, Louis's widow, were, meanwhile, exposed to great danger in Hungary, where Charles the Little of Naples had arrived in person, laid claim to the throne as nearest of kin on the male side, and seized the crown. Elisabeth, a Bosnian by birth and habituated to scenes of blood, feigned submission, and, during a confidential interview, caused him to be seized by

two Hungarian nobles, Niclas Gara and Forgacz. His cowardly Italian retinue fled, and he was assassinated in prison (1386). Elisabeth now grasped the scepter, and induced Maria, who regarded her husband with antipathy, to give him a cold reception on his arrival from Poland, and he was shortly after sent back to his brother in Bohemia. Horwathy, in the hope of gaining possession of the two queens, placed himself at the head of the Neapolitan faction, and, suddenly attacking their retinue when on a journey near Diakovar, slew Forgacz and Gara after a brave resistance, caused all their women to be cruelly tortured and put to death, and Elisabeth to be strangled in the presence of Maria, whom he imprisoned at Novigrad on the Adriatic with the intention of delivering her up to the vengeance of Margaretha, the widow of Charles the Little; this project was, however, contravened by the Venetians, who, dreading the union of Naples with Hungary, instantly shut up Novigrad. Jagello of Lithuania, meanwhile, wedded Hedwig, between whom and William the Courteous of Austria a mutual attachment subsisted. But the Poles, bribed by Jagello's promise to embrace Christianity and to unite Lithuania with Poland, gave him the preference, and William, whom Hedwig had secreted in the castle of Cracow, was expelled the country. Dalwitz, a Polish knight, who had been William's bosom friend and counselor, afterward accused the wretched Hedwig of having carried on too intimate a correspondence with that prince. Hedwig swore that she was innocent, and Dalwitz was condemned to creep under a table and to bark like a dog. The Hungarians, in order not to fall into the power of Jagello, who counted upon Maria's condemnation in order to unite Hungary with Poland, induced Horwathy to restore her to her husband, Sigmund, on a solemn assurance of security from vengeance on her part. Maria was no sooner restored to liberty than Sigmund quarreled with her, shut her up, and treated her with great severity, on account of her refusal to cede to him the sole sovereignty, and her indignation at his licentious conduct. She

possessed, nevertheless, sufficient nobility of mind to frustrate a conspiracy against his life, and he gratefully restored her to liberty. She expired shortly afterward (1392). Dalmatia, Bosnia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, meanwhile declared themselves independent of Hungary, to which they had hitherto belonged, and were encouraged in their rebellion by Horwathy, who was at length taken prisoner and put to a cruel death. Sigmund, in order to devote his undivided attention to Bohemia, mortgaged the mere of Brandenburg to his Moravian cousins, Procop and Jobst, the sons of his uncle Jodocus.

An enormous Turkish army under Sultan Bajazet now suddenly appeared on the frontiers of Hungary, after reducing almost every province in Greece to subjection, although Constantinople had been besieged in vain. In 1395, Bajazet had been opposed by Louis of Hungary, who was defeated on the Marizza.¹ The enthusiasm caused by the crusades had long died away, and it was with difficulty that Sigmund raised sixty thousand men, among whom were six thousand Burgundians and French, for the siege of Nicopolis (1396). Bajazet advanced at the head of two hundred thousand men to the relief of that city, and after a long and terrible engagement, in which sixty thousand Turks fell, gained the victory by his enormous numerical superiority. Enraged at the loss he had suffered, and at the cruelty with which the Christians murdered their Turkish prisoners, he caused ten thousand of the Christian captives to be executed in his presence. The bloody scene had lasted four hours when the pachas, struck with horror, cast themselves at his feet and sued for the lives of the remainder. Coucy, one of the number, died in captivity. Sigmund escaped. The Turks did not follow up their victory. Hungary again became a prey to intestine factions. Ladislaw of Naples renewed his pretensions to that country in 1399. Sigmund was thrown

¹ In gratitude for his preservation he founded the shrine of Mariazell in Styria, to which crowds of pilgrims still annually flock. — *Trans.*

into prison, whence he was liberated by Hermann von Cilly, on condition of accepting his daughter Barbara in marriage.

One of the first mistakes committed by Wenzel was the conferment of the government of Swabia, in 1382, on Leopold, duke of Austria, by which the hatred of the cities to the house of Habsburg was still further embittered. Both parties flew to arms. Eberhard of Wurtemberg, with the intent of preventing the Habsburgs from gaining possession of Swabia, prudently intervened, and conciliated himself with the knights, the cities, and the princes; Leopold also attempted to negotiate terms with the cities, in order to strike with greater security at the Swiss peasantry. The cities, notwithstanding the proposals of peace and amity made to them in 1382 and 1384, regarded them with suspicion, and in 1385 thirty-one of the cities of Switzerland and Swabia formed a confederation, which they invited the peasantry and petty nobility to join for the purpose of making head against the Habsburg; the confederated peasantry, however, discovered great lukewarmness, replying that it was harvest and they had no time, upon which the cities accepted the alliance proposed to them by the German princes and left the Swiss peasantry, who were instantly attacked by Leopold, unassisted in the hour of need. The battle of Sempach, in which the peasants owed the victory to the patriotic valor of Arnold von Winkelried, a peasant of Unterwald (who made a path with his body over the lances of the enemy), and in which Leopold fell, with six hundred and fifty-six of the nobility, took place in 1386. This success was followed by the battle of Näfels, during which the peasants of Glarus rolled stones on the Austrian squadrons (1388), and setting fire to the bridges across which they fled, two thousand five hundred of the enemy, including one hundred and eighty-three of the nobility, were killed. The Swiss confederation gained a great accession of strength by the adhesion of other cities. The peasants of Valais also defeated the earl of Savoy at Visp, during this year, and put four thousand of his men to the sword.

In 1380, the Swabian cities, which, after the battle of Sempach, had become aware of the impolicy of petty jealousy, gained courage to break off their alliance with the princes, and again sued for that of the Swiss peasantry, which being refused, they formed a great league with their sister cities on the Rhine. Innumerable feuds ensued between them and the nobility, until the defeat of the citizens of Frankfort at Eschborn (1388) by the Pfalzgraf Rupert, when most of the cities concluded peace with their opponents. By an imperial edict, in 1389, they were forbidden to form a fresh confederation, but neither their ancient hatred of the nobility was allayed nor their strength broken, and frequent outbreaks continued to take place.

Peace was scarcely restored, in 1392, when the Alpine herdsmen again, and with renovated vigor, arose in defense of their liberties.—The little hut built by St. Gall had, in course of time, sprung up into a stately monastery, whose proud abbot, Cuno, ruled the whole of the Alpine country under the high Säntis, and allowed his governors to tyrannize over the people. The governor of Appenzell ordered a corpse to be disinterred for the sake of its good coat. That of Schwendi hunted with his dogs all the peasants who could not pay their dues. One day, meeting the little son of a miller, he asked him “what his father and mother were doing?” “He bakes bread that is already eaten; she adds bad to worse,” answered the boy; “that is, my father lives on his debts, my mother mends rags with rags.” “Why so?” again inquired his interrogator. “Because,” said the boy, “you take all our money from us”; and when the governor set his dogs upon him, he raised a milk-can, under which he had hidden a cat, which instantly flew out, and drew off the dogs. The boy took refuge in his father's cabin, where he was killed by the irritated governor.

The peasants, attracted by the cries of the unfortunate father, raised a tumult, attacked the castle of Schwendi, and burned it to the ground. The governor contrived to escape. All the other castles in the vicinity were speedily leveled

with the ground, and the whole country was freed from its oppressors. The citizens of St. Gall also joined the peasants against the abbot in 1400. The Swabian cities were called upon to decide the matter, and decreed that St. Gall could only confederate with cities, not with peasants, upon which the Appenzellers were abandoned to their fate. The brave herdsmen now resolved to fight their own battle, and, aided by those of Glarus, defeated both the abbot and the citizens of St. Gall, in 1402. Delighted with their success, they summoned the neighboring peasantry to join the banner of liberty, and Rudolf, Count von Werdenberg, Austria's foe, voluntarily laid aside his mantle to take the herdsmen's dress and join their ranks. Frederick of Austria was again repulsed; but the Appenzellers, emboldened by success, ventured too far from their country, and laid siege to Bregenz, whence, after suffering great loss, they were compelled by the nobility to retreat. They afterward joined the confederation, 1407.

CLXXXII. *Rupert—The Netherlands*

THE incapacity of the emperor Wenzel was regarded with indifference by the princes of the empire, who were, consequently, unrestrained by his authority; but when his folly extended to a visit to Paris, where, in a drunken frolic, he ceded Genoa to France and recognized the antipope at Avignon as pope, instead of Boniface IX., who then wore the tiara at Rome, John, archbishop of Mayence, a zealous papal adherent, began to tremble for his miter, and urged the princes to depose him. The Pfalzgraf Rupert, ambitious of restoring the faded glories of the house of Wittelsbach, offered himself as a competitor for the throne, and was supported by the princes of the upper country and of the Rhine, while those of Northern Germany favored Frederick of Wolfenbuttel, the only man of note in the family of Welf. Wenzel was cited to appear before the tribunal of the princes of the empire at Oberlahnstein, and, on refusing to

appear, was formally deposed, and Rupert was proclaimed emperor. His rival, Frederick, was, at the same time, 1400, also proclaimed emperor by the Saxons, at Fritzlar. This noble prince, who was beheld with great enmity by the nobility, was, with the consent of John of Mayence, whose object it was to avoid every species of schism, attacked and murdered by a Count von Waldeck when on his way to Fritzlar. Rupert was so great a favorite with the nobility that the citizens, on his election, instantly offered to uphold the deposed emperor, who, nevertheless, remained in complete inactivity at Prague. Aix-la-Chapelle closed her gates against Rupert, who was, consequently, crowned at Cologne. Wenzel was counseled to bring about a reconciliation with Boniface, but treated the matter with indifference. He was now disturbed by his Bohemian subjects, and the nobles took advantage of the disrespect into which he had fallen to wrest from him the greatest privileges. Procop and Jobst of Moravia declared in Rupert's favor, in the expectation of gaining possession of Bohemia. Procop, who was on bad terms with his brother, however, quickly returned to his allegiance. During this confusion, Sigmund unexpectedly appeared, and made Wenzel and Procop prisoners. While occupied in restoring Bohemia to tranquillity, he incautiously intrusted Wenzel to the keeping of the Habsburgs, who, delighted with the disunion prevailing in the house of Luxemburg, instantly set him at liberty, and the Bohemians, with whom he was, notwithstanding his cruelty and folly, more popular than Sigmund, replaced him on the throne. His madness increased from this period.

Rupert no sooner mounted the imperial throne than he declared against France, and sought to win the favor of the cities by the abolition of the customs on the Rhine, which had merely the effect of turning from him the affection of the nobility. The princes were, moreover, faithless to him, and he was viewed with jealousy by his Bavarian cousins. Unaided by his own family and at enmity with the house of Luxemburg, he naturally sought an ally in that of Habs-

burg; and in the expectation of being warmly welcomed by Boniface IX., who still smarted under the insults heaped upon him by Wenzel, undertook an expedition to Rome for the purpose of receiving the crown from the hands of that pontiff. Leopold the Proud, whose father, Leopold, had fallen at Sempach, accompanied him across the Alps with the intention of attacking the Visconti, who had rendered themselves greatly obnoxious to him as neighbors. Leopold was, in this expedition, assisted with Florentine gold. The Visconti, however, who had been created dukes of the empire by Wenzel, were victorious at Brescia, in 1401, Leopold was taken prisoner, and Rupert was compelled to retrace his steps after vainly suing the Venetians for aid.

Rupert expired, in 1411, deserted by all his partisans and treated with universal disrespect; his acceptance of Offenbach and the Ortenau from William, bishop of Strasburg, as a bribe for his aid against the citizens, had rendered him utterly contemptible; the citizens were victorious, the bishop was compelled to flee, and his allies were taken prisoners. Sigmund had, meanwhile, made peace with the Habsburgs, and, assisted by Albert of Austria, laid siege to Znaym, which was defended by some robber-knights, Procop's partisans. Wenzel, trembling for the Bohemian crown in case of his brother's success, went to Breslau, and formed an alliance with Jagello, who had received the Christian name of Wladislaw on his accession to the throne of Poland in 1404. Sigmund and Albert were, at the same time, poisoned in the camp before Znaym. Sigmund escaped death by being suspended for twenty-four hours by his feet, so that the poison ran out of his mouth. Being deserted by William the Courteous, he was forced to give up Bohemia, after poisoning Procop in his prison. The German faction being, meanwhile, victorious over the Neapolitan party in Hungary, Sigmund regained that country; and the Turks, having been defeated by Timur in Asia, Bosnia and Dalmatia once more sought the protection of Hungary. The order of

the dragon and the university at Ofen were founded by Sigmund in memory of these events.

Ernest the Iron of Styria, the youngest of the four sons of Leopold of Austria, had confederated with his brother Leopold against his infant nephew Albert, afterward the emperor Albert II., whom they sought to deprive of his inheritance, but who was successfully defended by Sigmund and the Viennese. Ernest, independent of his perfidy toward his nearest relatives, was a man of no mean intellect. He wedded Cymburga, a Polish princess, a woman of great beauty and wit, and of such extraordinary strength as to be able to break horseshoes in sunder and to knock nails into the wall with her bare hand. She was remarkable for the large underlip that, even at the present day, characterizes the family of Habsburg.

In the Netherlands, family feuds had been carried on with great virulence. Guelders fell, in 1361, to the countess of Blois, the daughter of Duke Reinhold, and Brabant was inherited by Johanna, who married Wenzel, duke of Luxemburg, who dying, in 1383, without issue, Brabant and Luxemburg fell to Antony of Burgundy. Thus the house of Luxemburg lost its ancient ancestral possessions, without any opposition on the part of the emperor Wenzel, Rupert alone protesting against the encroachment of Burgundy upon the empire.

Flanders had become a scene of still wilder disorder, and a furious contest was carried on between Ghent, her allies, and the cities that favored the earl, Louis II., of Male. Peace was made in 1381, but Louis, incited by the Child of Edinghen (Enghien), attempting to take vengeance, Ghent again revolted. Grammont was reduced to ashes by the Child, who shortly afterward fell before Ghent. That city being reduced to great straits by the coalition of the citizens of Bruges, her rival city, with the earl, Philip von Artevelde, the son of the celebrated brewer, was placed, with unlimited power, at the head of the citizens. Famine raged within the walls, and the women were insisting upon a surrender, when

Artevelde returned from an unsuccessful parley with the besiegers, and thus addressed the people: "Shut yourselves up in the churches, recommend your souls to God and die of hunger, or bind yourselves with chains and yield to the cruel earl, or—seize your arms and drive back the foe! Choose one of these three!"—"Choose for us," was the reply; and Artevelde, placing himself at the head of the citizens, made a desperate sally, defeated the troops of the earl and the citizens of Bruges, who were pursued into their city, where a terrible slaughter took place (1382). Louis was concealed by an old woman, and escaped; nine thousand of the citizens of Bruges were slain, and the city was plundered. Artevelde became lord over the whole of Flanders.

Louis, whose daughter, Margaretha, had married Philip of Burgundy, uncle to Charles VI. of France, now turned to that country for aid, and a numerous French army was dispatched against Artevelde, who, although successful at Comines, was defeated and fell with twenty thousand of the Flemish at Rosebecke (1382). The English afterward aided Ghent, and the war was carried on with such fury that numbers of the Flemish migrated to England and Holland. It was continued on the death of Louis, who was stabbed in a broil at Artois by the duke de Berry (1384), by Philip of Burgundy, the French and the nobles against the citizens and the English. Peace was at length concluded in 1385. Flanders retained her ancient liberties, but henceforward appertained to Burgundy.

Two extraordinary women were mixed up with the intrigues of this period, Jacobea of Holland and Johanna of Naples. Jacobea, the only child of William of Wittelsbach, the heiress to Holland and the Hennegau, married John, the son of Charles VI. of France, who dying early, she wedded John of Brabant, the imbecile son of Antony. Her uncle, John the Merciless, however, leagued with the pope—who, at his request, dissolved Jacobea's second marriage, on the plea of too near a relationship—with Philip of Burgundy, England, and the reigning faction of the Kabeljaus in Holland, with

the design of depriving her of her rich inheritance. Abandoned on almost every side, and with a husband brutal and incapable, this beautiful young woman, already deprived of part of her possessions, now sought the protection of the English, in the hope of receiving aid from one of their princes, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, to whom she offered her hand. Philip of Burgundy interposed, and Gloucester had scarcely landed in Holland when he again retreated to England. Jacobea was betrayed into Philip's hands and carried prisoner to Ghent, whence she escaped in man's attire. During the same year (1425) John the Merciless expired, and bequeathed his claims upon Holland to Philip, who, already in possession of Flanders and heir presumptive to Brabant and Luxemburg, spared no means, by fraud or violence, to gain possession of the rest of the Netherlands, in which he was solely opposed by the unfortunate Jacobea. Gloucester remained in England, and merely sent some troops to her aid, who were joined by the city faction of the Hæcks, and defeated by the Burgundians at Brouwershaven (1425). John the Imbecile, of Brabant, died in the ensuing year, and was succeeded by Philip. Gloucester married an Englishwoman, and Jacobea's Dutch partisans being again defeated in a naval engagement near Wieringen, she was compelled to resign the government of Holland to Philip, and to promise not to contract another marriage without his consent. An annual pension was allowed her (1436). In this necessity, she found a faithful friend and prudent counselor in a handsome knight, Frank von Borselen, whom she secretly married. Philip, who had surrounded her with spies, gained intelligence of the conspiracy, threw the knight into prison, and compelled Jacobea to purchase her husband's liberty with the renunciation of her claims in Philip's favor. Frank was appointed head forester, and Jacobea, after living some years with him in that station, died at the early age of thirty-six (1439).

Not long before this, Otto the Welf, of Brunswick, a handsome young prince, had been, while on a visit to Italy,

chosen by Johanna of Naples for her fourth husband, and by this means implicated in the bloody intrigues of the house of Anjou. Otto was wounded and imprisoned by Charles of Durazzo, whom the pope had raised as his rival, and Johanna was strangled. Otto was afterward permitted to return to Brunswick. His daughter by Johanna married a king of Cyprus. The crown of Naples fell to Renée of Anjou, who was driven from his throne by Philip of Aragon, who had long been in possession of Sicily (1442).

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were declared inseparable under the queen, Margaretha, the daughter of Waldemar III. of Denmark, by the Calmar Union, in 1397.

THIRD PERIOD

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION

May God now help us, and give us one of the trumpets with which the walls of Jericho were thrown down, that we may also blow round these paper walls and loosen the Christian rods for the punishment of sins, in order that we may correct ourselves by chastisement.—*Luther*

PART XIV

THE HUSSITE WARS

CLXXXIII. *Sigmund*

WE have now arrived at that stormy period when the worn-out empire of the Middle Ages, shaken from within and without, fell in ruins, when the degenerate church waded through crime, and Heaven, in anger, emptied the vial of wrath over Germany, until, after centuries of sorrow and suffering, a new era, with a new faith, a new constitution, new manners and men, rose from the ruins of the past.

Physical strength and love of adventure had, in the earlier ages, given rise to the German migrations, and, at a later period, had given place to lofty aspirations of chivalry, faith, and love, which, carried to excess and abused, now yielded in their turn to the sovereignty of reason. The pious simplicity and confidence of the people, more and more practiced upon by the popes and their scholastics, were at length so shamefully abused for purposes of the meanest ambition and avarice that reason finally revolted against the chains of habitual belief. The ideas inculcated by Arnold of Brescia and by Petrus Waldus had annually spread; men saw that

the church had gone astray, and demanded that, cleansed from her temporal lust of power and luxury, from her scholastic lies and deceit, she should return to her primitive simplicity and truth. The learned Englishman, Wycliffe, was, at that period, the soul of the reforming party. Heresy had spread throughout Germany. Two hundred heretics were burned at Augsburg.

The circumstances of the times were far from unfavorable for a reformation in the church. The pontifical chair had been deprived of much of its supremacy by the schism in the church, consequent on the election of the antipopes at Avignon by France, in opposition to the successor of St. Peter at Rome, and the popes were reduced to the necessity of creating a party in their favor among the clergy and in the universities, by which means the papal despotism, introduced by Innocent IV., yielded to an ecclesiastical democracy, which now assumed a right to settle the dispute between the popes, and, in 1410, the council of Pisa, composed of bishops and doctors of the universities, boldly deposed the antipopes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and elected another pope, Alexander V., who, shortly afterward dying, was succeeded by John XXIII. Respect for the pontiff had, however, become so deeply rooted in the minds of the people that the deposed popes were able to maintain their authority, and the world was scandalized by beholding three popes at once, as if in mockery of the Trinity. The youngest of the three, John XXIII., who had formerly been a pirate, a man sunk in guilt and the lowest debauchery, was the most detestable, but the clergy were too deeply depraved to feel any repugnance at his election, and the cardinal, Peter d' Ailly, said openly that the church had become so bad that a good pope would be out of his sphere, and that she could only be ruled by miscreants.

On the death of the emperor Rupert, the house of Wittelsbach, weakened by division, remained in a state of inactivity, and the powerful one of Luxemburg continued to occupy the throne, Sigmund being elected in preference

to Wenzel, who contented himself with Bohemia, 1412. Vain, arrogant, deceitful, and ever undertaking more than he had power to perform, Sigmund discovered his true character from the very onset. In the electoral assembly he voted for himself, with these words, "There is no prince in the empire whom I know better than myself. No one surpasses me in power, or in the art of governing, whether in prosperity or adversity. I, therefore, as elector of Brandenburg, give Sigmund, king of Hungary, my vote, and herewith elect myself emperor." He united in his person many of the qualities for which his relations were noted, possessing the subtlety of Charles IV., the thoughtlessness of King John, the license of his brother Wenzel, with this difference, that, while Wenzel was a worshiper of Bacchus, he was a votary of Venus. Endowed with beauty, eloquence, and energy, he was totally devoid of real power or of reflection. He ever pursued a temporizing policy, and for a present advantage would thoughtlessly sacrifice a greater future gain.—At first he discovered a praiseworthy zeal for the church and state, and, in order to devote himself entirely to the regulation of public affairs, even sacrificed his private interests. The Turks, fortunately, made no further attempt upon Hungary, and Ladislaw of Naples, the competitor for that crown, died. Sigmund, anxious to secure himself to the rear, concluded peace with Wladislaw of Poland, whom he entertained with great splendor at Ofen. Annoyed by the successes of the Venetians in Dalmatia, Friuli, and on the frontiers of Lombardy, he dispatched against them a small number of troops under Pippo of Hungary, who being defeated, he deemed it more advantageous to make peace, and to cede Zara in Dalmatia to Venice for two hundred thousand ducats. He then passed through the Tyrol, and visited the duke, Frederick, at Innsbruck, which he quitted in great displeasure, and, proceeding to Italy, held a conference at Lodi with the pope, whom he persuaded to convoke a new council. His attempt to reduce the Visconti to submission failed, but at Turin he secured the allegiance

of Amadeus, earl of Savoy, after which he flattered the Swiss with a visit.

Having thus settled the affairs of the state, and having replenished his treasury by mortgaging Brandenburg to Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burgrave of Nuremberg, he resolved to become the reformer of the church, a scheme in which he had the sympathies of Europe, and for this purpose convoked a great council at Constance. The necessity of a reformation was universally felt, and was even participated in by the clergy, who desired the termination of the schism in the church, and, moreover, hoped to extend their power by means of a great council. Sigmund, fearing the party spirit of the clergy, sought to attract the laity, and to give to the council more the appearance and authority of a general European congress, in which the votes were regulated, not by classes, but by nations, and voluntarily ceded his prerogative, now a mere delusion, as Roman emperor, and placed the nation of the holy Roman empire no longer above, but on an equality with the rest of those represented in this council. After incessant efforts, he at length succeeded in uniting all the temporal and spiritual sovereigns and princes of Europe for this purpose, without being himself qualified to take the lead in such an assembly, where his undignified conduct drew upon him, and upon the church, the well-merited contempt of his brother sovereigns.

CLXXXIV. *The Council of Constance*

IN 1414, the spiritual and temporal powers of Catholic Europe held a great general congress at Constance, either in person or by their representatives. The temporal powers consisted of the emperor,¹ of almost all the electors, of most of

¹ Sigmund entered Constance on Christmas eve, and rode by torchlight to the church, where, with the imperial crown on his head, he served as deacon to the pope while reading mass. He showed himself more vain than efficient in the council. When, addressing the assembly, he said, "Date operam, ut illa nefanda schisma eradicetur," a cardinal remarking to him, "Domine, schisma est generis neutrius," he replied, "Ego sum rex Romanus et super grammaticam." In this council he lowered his dignity in matters of far greater importance.

the great vassals of the empire, of members of the nobility, of the ambassadors of all the Catholic sovereigns, and even of those of Greece and Russia in their strange attire. Of the spiritual dignitaries, there were three patriarchs, thirty-three cardinals, forty-seven archbishops, one hundred and forty-five bishops, one hundred and twenty-four abbots, eighteen hundred priests, seven hundred and fifty doctors, and a crowd of monks. Gregory and Benedict merely sent their legates, John XXIII. alone appearing in person. The Spaniards at first absented themselves on account of their holding with Benedict XIII., the council was merely composed of four nations; the Germans, including the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, Hungarians; the Italians, French, and English: who formed two opposing parties, that of the Italians under Pope John, supported by Frederick of Austria, John of Burgundy, John, archbishop of Mayence, and Bernard, Margrave of Baden; and that of the Germans, French, and English. The French, unable to forget the subserviency of the pope to their rule, still secretly set up Avignon in opposition to Rome; the Germans and English favored the French party for the purpose of deposing the notorious pope, John, and some among them sincerely wished for a reformation in the church; while all the Northern nations, without exception, jealous of the preference ever given to Italians in the appointment to ecclesiastical benefices, unanimously resolved to lower their pride on the present occasion; accordingly, when the Northern party, headed by the French cardinal, Peter d'Ailly, and Gerson, the celebrated chancellor of the university of Paris, actively seconded by the German clergy under the influence of the emperor, had carried the question of voting according to nations (which deprived the majority of the Italian cardinals and bishops of their power of influencing the number of votes), it advanced a step further, and declared that the popes were subservient to the council, and that each of the three must either voluntarily resign the tiara or be deposed. It was in vain that Roeder, a German by birth, a Parisian

doctor, implored the council to take the question of the reformation first into consideration. The spiritual lords, who ruled the assembly, solely intent upon putting an end to the scandal of a papal trinity, and upon restoring the external dignity of the church, were by no means inclined to meet the demands of the people by reforming her internal abuses.

Pope John, threatened with a public trial for the crimes he had committed, dissimulated his rage, and resigned the pontifical tiara. A statement of his misdemeanors had already been made public. His attempt to bribe the emperor failing, he confederated with Frederick of Austria, who held a tournament outside of the city walls, and the pope, favored by the crowd, fled, disguised as a groom, with a crossbow on his shoulder, and merely accompanied by a page, to Schaffhausen, where he was speedily joined by Frederick. John now solemnly protested against his enforced abdication, and dissolved the council. The terror caused by this step, however, quickly subsided. Frederick was, in return, declared out of the ban of the empire, and Sigmund, summoning the Swiss to his aid, bestowed the Austrian possessions upon them, on condition of their invading that territory, and thus satisfied his rancor as a Luxemburg against the house of Habsburg. The Waldstätte had made peace with Austria, and refused, but Berne, ever greedy of gain, instantly infringed the treaty and began the attack; upon which the citizens of Zurich and the Alpine peasantry, filled with envy of the promised booty, also invaded the Habsburg territory, which was speedily reduced to submission, and partitioned among the confederates. Sigmund shortly afterward visited Switzerland, and received the oath of fealty from the confederation. Frederick was taken prisoner at Freiburg by the Pfalzgraf, Louis, who commanded the imperial troops. On being carried to Constance, he fell at the emperor's feet to sue for pardon. Sigmund said to him, "We regret that you have committed these offences"; and, turning to the ambassadors of Venice and Milan, observed, "You know how powerful the dukes of Austria are, see what a German king

can do!" The Tyrolese attempted, when too late, to rise in favor of their duke. Frederick was compelled to resign the territory of which he had been deprived, and to pay a heavy fine. Pope John was also taken prisoner at Freiburg, and carried back to Constance, where he was publicly brought to trial before the council, and his profligacy and irreligion were fully divulged. He remained in imprisonment in the castle of Heidelberg until 1418, when he again took his place among the cardinals. Gregory XII. submitted to the council, and retained his cardinal's hat. Benedict XIII. still bade his opponents defiance from Spain.

The insolence of the popes was no sooner humbled than the council attempted to stifle the popular zeal for reform, for which the heresy, kindled by John Huss in Bohemia, offered a good opportunity. The Bohemians, an intuitively lively and intelligent people, had gained a rapid advance in civilization over the Germans since the reign of Charles IV. The university of Prague, endowed with the most valuable privileges, had become noted for the learning of its professors. The marriage of Anna, Wenzel's sister, with Richard, king of England, rendered the Bohemians acquainted with the writings of Wycliffe, who, since 1360, had boldly ventured to attack the abuses of the church in England. John, who, although a serf by birth, had raised himself by his talent to a professor's chair at Prague, and had been chosen confessor to the queen, roused by these writings, zealously preached against papal depravity in Prague. The dispute between the emperor Wenzel and the pope aided his efforts, and the Bohemian students quickly adopted his tenets, while those from Saxony, Bavaria, and Poland as sturdily opposed them. A violent opposition arose, and was terminated by the new constitution given to the university by the emperor Wenzel, by which the votes of the Saxons, Bavarians, and Poles, on all public acts, were combined into one, and those of the Bohemians tripled. All the foreigners, professors, and students, amounting to several thousand, instantly quitted the university and returned to their several coun-

tries, where the Saxons founded (1408) the university of Leipzig, the Bavarians enlarged that of Ingolstadt, and the Poles that of Cracow. Huss was triumphantly proclaimed Rector of Prague.

Emboldened by success, and confident that inquiry into the abuses of the church once roused would continue to be prosecuted, Huss now denounced from the pulpit the anti-biblical dogmas promulgated as Christian doctrine, and the temporal usurpations of the church, in open defiance of the archbishop, Sbinco, who virulently persecuted him. Some Englishmen painted on the wall of an inn a picture, in which Christ was on one side represented, meek and poor, entering Jerusalem mounted on an ass; on the other, the pope, proudly mounted on horseback, glittering with purple and gold. The people came in crowds to see this picture. Sbinco revenged himself by committing all the heretical books that he could discover to the flames, upon which the students shouted in the streets, "The A B C protector burns the books he does not understand." Three students were arrested, and, notwithstanding the promise of their safety given to Huss by the town-council, were beheaded in prison. Not long afterward, Hieronymus Faulfisch, or "of Prague," a bold friend of the reformer, seized a wretched man, who, accompanied by two dissolute females, publicly sold the papal dispensation, hung the letters of dispensation on the bare bosoms of the women, whom he drove in this plight through the streets of Prague, and finally burned the papal bull under the gallows. The wrath of the papists at this insult became so violent that Wenzel withdrew his protection from the reformers, and banished them from the city. Huss found an asylum with Hussinez, his feudal liege.

The preachings and writings of the freethinking Bohemian had excited such universal attention that John XXIII. cited him to Rome. Huss refused to obey, but appeared before the council, whose authority he alone recognized, and from which he apprehended no danger, Sigmund having promised him a safe-conduct (1414). On his way to Constance, he

disputed at Nuremberg, where he elicited great applause, but had scarcely reached Constance, than by a sermon he heedlessly afforded to his opponents an excuse, eagerly sought for, for seizing his person, and was imprisoned in a narrow dungeon on the banks of the Rhine, where the common sewers emptied themselves. The pestilential atmosphere speedily engendered a fever. His noble friend, von Chlum, enraged at the ill faith of the prelates and princes, vainly appealed to the safe-conduct; the repeated addresses of the Estates of Bohemia to the council in behalf of their protégé, and their demands for his restoration, proved equally futile; Huss was, for greater security, carried to the castle of Gottlieben in the Thurgau, where, by command of the bishop of Constance, he was chained hand and foot to the wall of his dungeon; in this state he remained while the council were engaged in settling the papal and Austrian affairs, which were no sooner concluded than Huss was remanded before it. The unfortunate reformer could hardly expect lenity from an assembly that had just bidden defiance to the popes. The emperor, justly proud of standing at the head of the council independent of the pope, was at that time endeavoring to win over the Spaniards, whose king, Ferdinand of Aragon, fanatically insisted upon the condemnation of the heretics. The affair of Huss was, consequently, regarded as an interruption, and his case was hurried over. Sigmund refused the petitions of the Bohemian Estates, and excused his want of faith by saying that he had merely promised Huss a safe-conduct until his arrival at Constance, when his promise was of no further avail, owing to his inability to protect a heretic. As Huss entered the assembly-room a solar eclipse darkened the air. Addressing the emperor, he thanked him for the safe-conduct he had granted; the blood rushed to the face of the emperor, who made no reply. Huss then attempted to defend his doctrine, but was silenced; the articles of accusation were read aloud, and he was ordered to recant. The most irrational charges were made against him, such as that of his having maintained the existence of

four gods, at which he could not suppress a smile. The cardinals and bishops laughed loudly in concert whenever passages commenting upon their criminal mode of life were read, and as often as Huss, in the midst of this scandalous uproar, rose to speak in his own defence, the tumult increased, and he was condemned unheard, on his steadfast refusal to recant, to the stake. The noble-minded Chlum said to him, "Be comforted, teacher of virtue, truth is of higher value than life!"

Independent of the false charges brought against him, Huss had, in fact, promulgated doctrines condemned as heretical by the church; as, for instance, that laymen, as well as priests, might freely participate in the Lord's Supper; that a priest unworthy of his office could not dispense the sacrament; that the Holy Ghost rested upon the whole congregation, and not merely upon the priesthood; that every pious layman was fitted, without receiving ordination, to act as a spiritual teacher and guide; that the authority of the bishop of Rome did not extend over foreign nations. He had, moreover, greatly offended the temporal lords, by teaching that obedience was as little due to a wicked prince as to a wicked pope.

In the midst of the solemn council, over which the emperor, seated on his throne, presided, Huss was deprived of his priestly office, and crowned with a paper cap, an ell in height, on which three devils were painted, with this inscription, "the arch-heretic." He simply observed, "Christ wore the crown of thorns." The elector of the Pfalz headed the procession to the place of execution. Huss, when bound to the stake, on seeing a peasant zealously heaping on wood, exclaimed, "O sacred simplicity!" The pile was kindled, and the martyr's voice was heard singing a psalm until he was stifled by the flames. He is said to have prophesied on the day of his death, "To-day you will roast a goose (the meaning of the word 'Huss'), but a hundred years hence a swan, that you will not be able to kill, will appear." He suffered on his forty-second birthday, in 1415.

Hieronymus of Prague, who had also come to Constance, terrified at the fate of his friend, fled, but was retaken and thrown into prison, where he was induced by hunger, torture and sickness to recant. This momentary weakness was, however, nobly expiated: "I will not recant," said he to the council, with such unexpected firmness that the Italian, Poggio, struck with admiration, named him a second Cato; "I will not recant, for my blessed master has, with perfect justice, written against your shameful and depraved mode of life, and with truth attacked your false ordinances and your evil customs. I will not deny this belief, although you will kill me." He was condemned to the stake; the weak attempt made to save him by Caspar Schlick, Sigmund's chancellor, who advised greater lenity on account of Bohemia, was unlistened to. When the executioner was about to set fire to the pile from behind, Hieronymus ordered him to set fire to it in front, "for," said he, "had I dreaded fire, I should not have been here" (1416).

The emperor, after the execution of Huss, projected a visit to Spain for the purpose of personally persuading Benedict XIII. to submit, and, in order to meet the expense of this extraordinary journey, sold the whole of Brandenburg, together with the electorship, to Frederick of Zollern for 300,000 ducats, and, for a smaller sum, created the Truchsesses of Waldburg governors of Swabia. At Perpignan he was met by Ferdinand of Aragon, and there finally succeeded in effecting the deposition of Pope Benedict. At Chambéry he raised Amadeus VIII., earl of Savoy, to the ducal dignity. At Paris, where he was sumptuously entertained as the highest potentate on earth, he vainly endeavored to make peace between France and England, at that time engaged in bloody warfare, and, for this purpose, visited England, where he was received with distrust, the English imagining that he intended to set himself up as umpire between the sovereigns of Europe, and to assert his supremacy over England. On his arrival on the English coast, the Duke of Gloucester, advancing into the water

with his sword drawn, demanded "whether he intended to exercise any sort of jurisdiction in England," and, on receiving an answer in the negative, permitted him to land. His proposals for peace were ill received and refused. William of Bavaria, count of Holland, came to London, in order to be invested with his dignity by Sigmund, who refused, and the Wittelsbacher returned to Holland, taking with him the whole of his fleet, so that until it pleased Henry of England to furnish the emperor with the means of transport, he was in some sort retained a prisoner in London, whence the insolence of the mob, on one occasion, compelled him to flee to Canterbury, where he was detained until he had signed a treaty with England against France, upon which he never afterward acted.

On his return to Constance, he had at least the gratification of adding the fifth vote, that of Spain, to the council; harmony, however, was thereby unrestored, and the emperor's authority had deeply fallen. A fresh and violent dispute arose in the council, one party advocating the reform of the abuses that had crept into the church, the other as eagerly evading the question, and insisting on the election of a fresh pope. Frederick von Zollern and the majority of the Germans and English strongly advocated reform, although far from agreeing in their ideas how far reform ought to extend. Peter d'Ailly placed himself at the head of the papal party, which consisted of the higher church dignitaries, the French, Italians, and Spanish, who, after some time, being joined by the English, the Germans were compelled, after making an energetic protest, to yield, Peter d'Ailly saying with his habitual and open sarcasm to the German clergy, "Ye want to reform others, although ye well know how good for nothing ye are yourselves." What expectation more futile than the correction of the abuses of power by its possessors! It was the folly of the age to expect reformation from a council.

An Italian cardinal was elected pope, in 1417, under the name of Martin V., and scarcely felt the weight of the

tiara on his brow before he concerted measures for the prevention of every degree of reform, and, by concluding separate concordats with the different nations of which the council was composed, succeeded in dissolving it, and in reinstating the papal authority. The question of reform was no longer agitated; the Germans formally renounced their connection with the Bohemians; popular opinion was treated with contempt; the emperor was no longer energetic in the cause; the bishops and doctors alone acted; the former were won by the pope's amicable proposals, while the courage of the latter had been visibly cooled by the fate of Huss, and thus miserably terminated the council of Constance, on which so many hopes had rested.¹

CLXXXV. *Disturbances in Bohemia—Zizka*

POPULAR opinion had been disregarded by the council of Constance, which vainly deemed that the name of Huss had been swept from the earth when his ashes were borne away by the rapid waters of the Rhine. But his doctrines had taken deep root in Bohemia, and would undoubtedly have also spread into Germany had not the jealousy of the Germans been roused by the favor with which the emperors, Charles IV. and Wenzel, had distinguished the Bohemians, who had, moreover, often treated them with haughty insolence, and had Huss preached not in the Bohemian but in the German tongue. Germany was, perhaps, at that period, unfitted to receive his doctrines: the grossest ignorance still prevailed, and the German universities, far from spreading enlightenment among the people, were the abodes of papal superstition.

The Bohemian Estates, influenced by Ulric von Rosenberg, after vainly protesting against the faithless and illegal manner in which Huss had been condemned, passed a reso-

¹ The city of Constance was ruined by the council, the emperor meanly refusing to pay a farthing of his personal debts, and the murder of Huss lay like a curse upon the city, which never after flourished.

lution, in 1416, authorizing every manorial lord to have the doctrines of the murdered reformer preached within his demesnes. The numerous adherents of the martyr of Constance took the name of Hussites, and the preacher, Jacob of Miesz, gave them the distinctive sign of the cup, by teaching, that as the Spirit of God rested not on the priesthood alone but also on the whole community, the people ought to partake, as in the early Christian times, of the Lord's Supper in both forms (*sub utraque*), not merely of the bread, but also of the wine in the chalice, until now partaken of by the priest alone. The Hussites were hence termed *Utraquists* or *Calixtines*, brethren of the cup. The people were at first pacified by the freedom of preaching granted by the Estates. The plunder of some monasteries by robber bands alone demonstrated their secret hatred of the Roman clergy.

On the conclusion of the council of Constance, Martin V., in the vain hope of crushing the heresy with spiritual weapons, hurled his fulminations against the Hussites. This was, however, merely the signal for strife. In the spring of 1419, the cardinal-legate, Dominici, having condemned a Hussite preacher, whose cup he cast to the ground, to the stake, the Hussites, now in great numbers, secretly brooded over revenge. There lived at that time in Wenzel's court an experienced officer, named John Zizka (*Tschischka*) von *Trocznaw*, who had lost one of his eyes during his childhood, had long served against the German Hospitalers in Poland, and was now the chamberlain and favorite of the aged emperor. The seduction of one of his sisters, a nun, by a priest, had inspired him with the deepest hatred toward the whole of the priesthood, and he viewed the Germans with national dislike. Since the death of Huss, he had remained plunged in deep and silent dejection, and on being asked by Wenzel why he was so sad, replied: "Huss is burned, and we have not yet avenged him!" Wenzel carelessly observing that he could do nothing but that Zizka might attempt it himself, he took the jest in earnest, and, seconded by Niclas von Hussinez, Huss's former lord and zealous partisan,

roused the people. Wenzel, in great alarm, ordered the whole body of citizens to bring their arms to the royal castle of Wisherad that commanded the city of Prague, but Zizka, instead of the arms, brought the armed citizens in long files to the fortress, and said to the emperor, "My gracious and mighty sovereign, here we are, and await your commands; against what enemy are we to fight?" Wenzel, upon this, took a more cheerful countenance and dismissed the citizens. All restraint was now at an end. Hussinez was banished the city, but, instead of obeying, assembled forty thousand men on the mountain of Hradistic in the district of Bëchin, which henceforward received the biblical name of Mount Tabor, where several hundred tables were spread for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, July 22, 1419. An attempt made by Wenzel to depose the Hussite city council in the Neustadt, where the chief excitement prevailed, and to replace it by another devoted to his interests, created, at the same time, the greatest discontent throughout Prague; and on the imprisonment of two clamorous Hussites by this new council, Zizka assembled the people, marched, on the 30th of July, in procession, and bearing the cup, through the streets, and, on arriving in front of the council-house of the Neustadt, demanded the liberation of his partisans. The council hesitated; a stone fell out of one of the windows, and the mob instantly stormed the building and flung thirteen of the councilors, Germans by birth, out of the windows. The dwelling of a priest, supposed to have been that of his sister's seducer, was, by Zizka's order, destroyed, its owner hanged, the Carthusian monks, crowned with thorns, were dragged through the streets, etc. A few days afterward, the emperor, Wenzel, was suffocated in his palace by his own attendants, August 16, 1419. His death was the signal for a general outbreak. On the ensuing day, every monastery and church in Prague was plundered, the pictures they contained were destroyed, and the priests' robes converted into flags and dresses. It is impossible at this day to form an idea of the splendor of these buildings, and of that of the

royal palaces, on which Charles IV. and Wenzel had lavished every art. Æneas Sylvius mentions a garden belonging to the royal palace destroyed during this period of terror on whose walls the whole of the Bible was written. While the work of destruction proceeded, a priest, Matthias Toczenicze, formed an altar of three tubs and a broad table-top in the streets, and, during the whole day, dispensed the sacrament in both forms. The zeal of the wealthy citizens, however, was speedily cooled by the dread of being deprived of their riches, and they entered into negotiation with Sophia, Wenzel's widow, who still defended the Wisherad, and even sent a deputation to Sigmund with terms of peace, to which Sigmund replied by swearing to take the most fearful revenge. Zizka, finding the citizens of Prague too moderate for his purposes, now invited into the city the peasants, who were advised by his most active partisan, the priest Coranda, to arm themselves with their flails. In October, they plundered the *Kleine Seite* of Prague and besieged the castle, whence the queen fled. Zizka being, nevertheless, forced by the moderate party to quit the city, fortified Mount Tabor and placed himself at the head of the peasantry, who took the name of "the people of God," and termed their Catholic neighbors "Moabites, Amalekites," etc., whom they deemed it their duty to extirpate, while their leader entitled himself "John Zizka of the cup, captain, in the hope of God, of the Taborites."

The Bohemian Estates, anxious for the restoration of tranquillity, now had recourse to the emperor, who, on the conclusion of the council of Constance, had made terms with the Habsburgs, in order to make head against the Turks, who had invaded Hungary and Styria, and whom he had successfully repulsed at Radkersburg in 1416, and at Nissa in 1419. He received the Bohemian deputation at Brünn, and had the folly—on their earnestly petitioning him to secure to them free communion, and submissively representing the great danger with which the country was threatened, and their desire, in unison with him, to restore tranquillity

by means of moderate concessions—to allow them to remain for a length of time on their knees and to refuse their proposals. Instead of joining the moderate party, the nobility and citizens, against the fanatical peasantry, he insulted them all; and, although he intended to use violence, neglected the opportune moment, in order, according to his usual policy, to secure himself to the rear, for which purpose he visited Poland, where he made terms with Wladislaw and the German Hospitalers, January 6, 1420. Symptoms of reaction, meantime, appeared on the frontiers. Hussite preachers, who ventured to cross from Bohemia, were burned as heretics.

These acts of cruelty excited reprisals on Zizka's part, and, after swearing publicly with Coranda, at Pilsen, never to recognize Sigmund as king of Bohemia, he began to destroy all the monasteries in the country, and to burn all the priests alive, generally in barrels of pitch, in open retaliation of the burning of the heretics. He is said to have exclaimed on hearing the agonizing cries of his victims, "They are singing my sister's wedding song!" Sophia, who had garrisoned all the royal castles and assembled a strong body of troops, dispatched the lord of Schwamberg against him in the hope of seizing him before he was joined by still greater multitudes. Schwamberg came up with him near Pilsen, and surrounded the multitude, great part of which consisted of women and children, on the open plain. Zizka instantly ordered the women to strew the ground with their gowns and veils, in which the horses' feet becoming entangled, numbers of their riders were thrown, and Zizka, taking advantage of the confusion, attacked and defeated them. The superior numbers of the imperial troops, however, compelled him to shut himself in Pilsen, whence he was allowed free egress to Tabor, and he gained another advantage over an army commanded by Peter von Sternberg, by whom he was attacked on his march thither. The citizens of Prague still closed their gates against him, but admitted another body of peasantry, collected by Hinko Crussina, on the newly-named

Mount Horeb, near Trzebechowitz, and thence denominated Horebites, for the purpose of storming the castle of Prague, it being their custom to make use of the peasantry in cases where negotiation failed. The attack was unsuccessful, and the citizens, after a second time vainly attempting to mollify the emperor, found themselves compelled to recall Zizka and to confederate with him.

Sigmund assembled an army in Silesia, whither Sophia also went, while a body of imperial troops was slowly raised. The citizens of Breslau had joined those of Prague, thrown their ancient councillors out of the windows of the town-house, 1420, and permitted the priest, Krasa of Prague, to preach in their city. Sigmund condemned Krasa to the stake, and twenty-three of the new councillors to be beheaded. Inspired by his vicinity, the Bohemian Catholics inflicted great cruelties upon the Hussites dwelling among them. At Kuttēnberg, the German miners flung sixteen hundred of the Hussite inhabitants down the mines.—The Taborites, meanwhile, entered Prague, May the 20th, and rebuilt the fortifications, although the castle was still occupied by the imperial garrison. Sigmund awaited the arrival of the German troops. A convoy, sent by him to the garrison at Prague, was captured by the Hussites; Tabor, besieged by Ulric von Rosenberg, who had gone over to the emperor, was relieved by Hussinez. Königingratz fell into the hands of the Hussites, and Slan was burned to the ground. Both sides treated their prisoners with equal cruelty, the imperialists cutting a cup, the Hussites a cross, on their foreheads, etc. In June, the imperial army at length made its appearance, commanded by the electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, Brandenburg, etc., one hundred thousand men strong, and joined the Silesians and Hungarians, already assembled by the emperor. On the 30th, the emperor reached Prague, and took up his abode in the castle. Zizka instantly threw up fortifications on the mountain of Witkow, since named the Zizkaberg, which commands the city, and the imperialists found when too late that the city

was untenable, unless this post was first gained. An attack made upon it by the Misnians failing, Sigmund made no further attempt, and, in the hope of coming to terms with the moderate party, who were greatly obnoxious to the wild peasantry, and of thus gaining a bloodless victory, solemnized his coronation, on the 28th July, in the castle of Prague, caused himself to be proclaimed king of Bohemia, and paid his Slavonian and Hungarian troops with the jewels taken from the imperial palaces and churches. The German troops remained unrewarded, and, in August, quitted Bohemia in discontent. Sigmund followed.

The emperor's hopes were speedily gratified. Strife broke out between the citizens, the nobility of Prague, and Zizka and his adherents. The Taborites ruled the city with a rod of iron, not only destroying all that remained of the former magnificence of the churches, but also prohibiting every symptom of wealth or pleasure among the laity. Rich attire, gambling, and dancing, were declared punishable by death, and the wine-cellars were closed. The peasants and their preacher harbored the fearful belief of their being the destined exterminators of sin from the earth. All church property was declared public property, and the possessions of the wealthy seemed on the point of sharing the same fate. The citizens and nobility rising in self-defence, Zizka deemed it advisable to withdraw, and to form an encampment in the open country, and accordingly, quitting the city on the 22d of August, destroyed the celebrated monastery of Kœnigsaal, and the tombs of the Bohemian kings. Sigmund, who had impatiently awaited this event, now sought to conciliate the faction he had so lately insulted, by seizing the monasteries, and bestowing their lands on the nobility. Emboldened by Zizka's departure, he again approached Prague, but Hussinez, who coveted the Bohemian crown, and had placed himself at the head of the Horebites, who preferred his rule to that of the strict and republican Taborites, guarded the city, and, aided by Crussina, laid siege to the Wisherad. Sigmund attempted to surprise them on the 18th October, but

suffered a shameful defeat and fled into Hungary. The Wisherad capitulated, and its palace and church, splendid works of art, were destroyed.

This blow put a reconciliation between the moderate party and Sigmund out of the question, and the former once more made terms with the wild peasantry, whose leaders were at variance. The most deadly abhorrence of every existing institution had taken deep root within Zizka's breast, and he at once condemned the ancient church, royalty, and inequality of rank. A fraternity, composed of the children of God, formed his ideal of perfection, and he expected to bear down all opposition with the strokes of the iron flail. Hussinez was, on the contrary, tormented by ambition, and his late success had emboldened his pretensions to the crown. The moderate party now skillfully opposed him to Zizka, whom they hastily recalled. The city of Prachaticz, which had mocked that leader, had meanwhile been burned, together with the whole of the inhabitants, and the bishop of Nicopolis, who by chance fell into his hands, was drowned. On his return to Prague, he joined the moderate party in the great national assembly, in order to hinder the usurpation of Hussinez; Ulrie von Rosenberg was also present. The nobility, clearly perceiving that Sigmund would never be tolerated by the people, proposed to offer the crown to Wladislaw of Poland; but Zizka's republican spirit refused to do homage to any monarch, and Wladislaw was, moreover, far from aspiring to a throne entailing heavy cares and the hatred of the whole of Christendom. Hussinez, deeply wounded by these proceedings, quitted the city, fell from horseback, broke his leg, and died.

In the ensuing spring, Zizka prosecuted his war of extermination against sinners, that is, against all who refused to join his banner. Every city that ventured to resist was carried by storm and laid in ashes, its inhabitants were murdered, and the priests burned alive. Taborite virtue also induced another species of excess. While Martin Loquis taught that all the enemies of Christ were to be extermi-

nated, that Christ would appear and found the millennium exclusively for them, some enthusiasts thought proper to anticipate that blessed season by the introduction of the innocence of paradise, by going naked like Adam and Eve, and giving way to the maddest excesses. These Adamites, however, stood in great terror of Zizka, by whom they were cruelly persecuted for the ridicule they brought upon his system.

The moderate party was no less active, and persuaded the majority of the adverse or wavering nobles, and even the Bohemian ecclesiastics, to coalesce. A new and great diet was held at Ozaslau, in which the nobility and clergy again declared in favor of Huss's doctrines, and completely renounced Sigmund as their king. This diet ratified four of the "articles of Prague": free preaching; the communion in both forms; the evangelical poverty of the priests and the secularization of all ecclesiastical property; the extirpation of sins. Without the last article, the Taborites could not have been gained, July 7, 1421.

Sigmund, enraged at the defection of the moderate party, incited the Silesians to invade Bohemia, and twenty thousand men poured into that unhappy country; even women and children fell victims to their cruelty. The rumored approach of Zizka, however, struck them with terror, and they retreated, after acceding to the articles of Prague. Shortly after this, Zizka was deprived of his remaining eye by the splinter of a tree struck by a cannon-ball during the siege of the castle of Raby. Notwithstanding this misfortune, his knowledge of the whole of Bohemia was so accurate that he continued to lead his army, to draw his men up in battle order, and to command the siege. He always rode in a carriage near the great standard. His war regulations were extremely severe. Although blind, he insisted upon being implicitly obeyed. On one occasion, having compelled his troops, as was often his wont, to march day and night, they murmured and said to him, "That although day and night were the same to him, as he could not see, they

were not so to them." "How! you cannot see!" said he, "well! set fire to a couple of villages."—In September, 1421, the imperial army at length took the field, and vainly besieged Saatz, while Sigmund assembled reinforcements in Hungary. The army, meanwhile, became discontented at his prolonged absence, and, on the news of Zizka's approach, dispersed. In November, Sigmund entered the country at the head of a horde of eighty thousand savage Cumans and Servians, and inspired the moderate party with such terror that its chiefs threw themselves on his mercy. Zizka was surrounded and shut up near Kuttenberg, but broke his way through the enemy during the night. On New Year's day, 1422, Zizka, drawing up his army in battle-array near Kollin, awaited the onset of the foe, when the Hungarians, seized with sudden panic, fled without a stroke. They were overtaken by their unrelenting pursuers on the 8th of January near Deutschbrod, where numbers of them were drowned while crossing the Sazawa, by the breaking of the ice. Deutschbrod was burned down, and its inhabitants were put to the sword.

Bohemia remained for some years after this unharassed save by intestine disturbances. Loquis the prophet was condemned to the stake by the archbishop. One of his secret adherents, John, a Præmonstratenser monk, had, however, gradually acquired such influence in Prague as to cause a nobleman, Sadlo von Kostenberg, to be beheaded, and the moderate party, dreading his power over the people, had him secretly seized and put to death, in 1422. The town-house was instantly attacked by the populace; the judge and five councilors were murdered, and John's head was borne in mournful procession through the city. The great college and the valuable library, founded by Charles IV., were destroyed. Prince Coribut, the nephew of Witold of Lithuania, aspired to the crown, placed himself at the head of the moderate party, and laid siege to the imperial castle of Carlstein; but the fickle nobles and Zizka refused to recognize him, and, on his departure from Prague, the former leagued with

the citizens against Zizka, who, disgusted with their half-measures, no longer spared them and laid their lands waste. In 1423, he discomfited the confederates at Horzicz, and gained possession of Königingratz, where, notwithstanding his blindness, he killed the priest, who bore the host in front of the enemy's ranks, with a blow of his club. His next step was the invasion of Moravia and Austria in order to keep his troops employed, and to strike Albert, Sigmund's son-in-law, with terror; he suffered great losses before Iglau and Kremsin. In the ensuing year (1424) the moderate party once more took up arms against him, and pursued him to Kuttenberg, upon which he feigned a retreat, and, suddenly turning, ordered his battle-chariot to be rolled down the mountain side upon the advancing foe, and, attacking them during the confusion that ensued, captured their artillery, and, in sign of triumph, set Kuttenberg in flames. Coribut now revisited Prague, and found the discomfited nobility more inclined in his favor, but was in his turn defeated at Kosteletz on the Elbe by Zizka, who followed up his victory by marching directly upon Prague, which he threatened to level with the ground. But sedition broke out in his own army. Procop, Zizka's bravest associate, clearly perceiving the disastrous consequences of civil warfare, confederated with the young and highly-gifted priest, Rokizana, who had attained great consideration in Prague. Peace was unanimously demanded, and alone opposed by Zizka, who, mounting upon a cask, thus addressed his followers: "Fear internal more than external foes! It is easier for a few, when united, than for many, when disunited, to conquer! Snares are laid for you; you will be entrapped, but without my fault!" Peace was concluded, and a large monument was raised on the Spitelfeld, in commemoration of the event, with stones heaped up by the opposing parties. Zizka entered the city in solemn procession; Coribut came to meet him, embraced and called him father. Sigmund now sought to mollify the aged warrior, and entered into negotiation with him. Zizka, however, remained immovable,

planned a fresh attack upon Moravia, and died en route, the 12th of October, 1424.'

CLXXXVI. *The Reign of Terror—The Council of Basel—
End of the Hussite War*

ON the death of Zizka, the republican Hussites separated into three bodies, the Taborites under Procop Holy, the Orphans, or the orphan children of Zizka, who dwelt in their wagon camp in the open country, vowed never again to sleep beneath a roof, and elected as their leader Procop the Little, and the ancient Horebites. Coribut and Rokizana headed the imperial Hussites in Prague.

The emperor had, meanwhile, vainly implored the aid of the great vassals against them. In 1425, Procop gained a signal victory in Misnia; fifteen thousand of the Misnians strewed the field, and twenty-four nobles, who were overtaken in the pursuit, knelt in a circle round their banner and surrendered, but were mercilessly struck down with the iron flails of the peasantry. Procop Holy, inspirited by this success, re-entered Moravia, where he laid siege to the castle of Kemnitz, which was valiantly defended by Agnes, the youthful daughter of Zezima von Rosenberg, who had bequeathed it to her. Unmoved by the fearful shouts of the Hussites, who inclosed the keep on every side, and by the failure of the attempt made by her uncle, Meinhart von Neuhausz, to relieve the garrison, she undauntedly persevered in the defense, and so greatly excited the admiration of the enemy that Procop granted her free egress with all her people, and sent her in safety to her uncle, von Neuhausz.—After devastating Austria (1427), while the Orphans and the Taborites invaded the Lausitz, and laid villages and monasteries in ashes, Procop besieged Prague,

¹ Zizka was short and broad-shouldered, with a large, round, bald head; his forehead was deeply furrowed, and he wore long fiery-red mustaches. His tomb was destroyed by order of Ferdinand II., the Jesuitical hyena, who raged against both the dead and living.

whence Rokizana had expelled a Taborite preacher, but was conciliated by the promised sacrifice of Coribut, who was seized by the populace and treated with great ignominy, notwithstanding the attempt of the nobility, in which Himko von Waldstein was killed, to liberate him; and Coribut, after solemnly renouncing the crown of Bohemia, returned to Poland. Martin V., on the failure of this plan, again preached a crusade against the Hussites, and sent Henry de Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, to stir up the Germans. Sigmund also implored the princes to ward off the increasing danger, and a large army was reassembled, to which Swabia, the Rhenish provinces, and even the Hanse towns, sent troops. But the Bohemians also reunited; the nobility laid aside their animosity, and joined Procop's army. The Saxons, at that time besieging Miesz, fled on his approach, but were overtaken, and ten thousand of their numbers slain, July, 1427.

On New Year's day, 1428, the Hussite factions held a religious meeting at Beraun, where Procop Holy distinguished himself as a theologian. The people of Prague, desirous of a reconciliation with the church, proposed the recognition of the priesthood, as such, on condition of its reformation, which Procop and the republican party steadfastly rejected, maintaining the right of every individual to read the Mass. They also rejected the sacraments. Procop, finding unanimity impossible, and fearing fresh disturbances, wisely led his warlike followers across the frontiers, and spread the terror of the Hussite name throughout Silesia and Austria.

Sigmund, weary of the war, now offered the government of Bohemia to Procop, as he had formerly done to Zizka, on condition of the restoration of order. In the spring of 1429, the Bohemian Estates again met at Prague, and openly negotiated with Sigmund, who had come as far as Presburg. All parties sighed for tranquillity, and Procop, at the head of a deputation, waited upon him, and again tendered to him the crown of Bohemia, on condition of the free exercise of

their religion being conceded to the nation. The emperor hesitated. The ancient feelings of hatred, meanwhile, revived; the Taborites and Orphans decided the matter by refusing obedience to any sovereign, and the negotiation was broken off.

The weakness of the German potentates in the adjoining provinces, the egotism and listlessness of those in the more distant parts of the empire, the discouragement and voluptuous habits of the emperor, and the unwillingness of the Germans to fight in a cause they deemed unjust, had left the Hussites without an opponent, and had enabled them to execute their revenge on a systematic plan. Saxony was invaded, the cities were sacked and burned, every inhabitant, generally speaking, was murdered. On the burning of Altenburg, the Hussites said, "That was the answer to the death of Huss," and when they bathed in torrents of German blood, exclaimed, "Here is the sauce for the goose (Huss) you roasted!" Silesia, Hungary, and Austria were invaded. A fresh negotiation opened between Sigmund and Procop at Eger, and a new intrigue of the nobility, who offered the crown of Bohemia to Frederick of Habsburg, proved equally futile.

About this time the pope, Martin V., expired. His successor, Eugenius IV., spared no means for the termination of this fearful war. On the 19th July, 1431, a great council was convoked at Basel, and negotiations were opened with the Hussites, while the cardinal, Julian, preached a fresh crusade against them, and Sigmund persuaded the princes and Estates of the empire at Nuremberg to use every effort in the cause. The Maid of Orleans, who had just driven the English out of France, and who was revered as a saint throughout Europe, also sent an admonitory epistle, written in the spirit of popery, to the Hussites, who replied to the friendly propositions of the pope and of the princes, "You well know what separates us from you, you preach the gospel with your mouths, we practice it in our actions"; and when threatened, thus admonished the nations gathered

against them, "If you submit to the deceitful priests, know that we submit to God alone, and fight with his arm; the power of the flesh will be on your side, on ours that of the Spirit of God!"

The imperial army, one hundred and thirty thousand men strong, paid with the common penny, which, in 1428, was fixed by the diet at Nuremberg as the first general tax throughout the empire, commanded by Frederick of Brandenburg, entered Bohemia, burned two hundred villages, and committed the most horrid excesses. The Hussites came up with it near Tauss, the 14th of August, 1431, but scarcely was their banner seen in the distance than the Germans, notwithstanding their enormous numerical superiority, were seized with sudden panic; the Bavarians, under their duke, Henry, took to flight, and were followed by all the rest. Frederick of Brandenburg and his troops took refuge in a wood. The cardinal alone stood his ground, and, for a moment, succeeded in rallying the fugitives, who at the first onset of the enemy again fled, and, in their terror, allowed themselves to be unresistingly slaughtered. One hundred and fifty cannons were taken. The free knights of the empire, filled with shame at this cowardly discomfiture, vowed to restore the honor of the empire, and to march against the Hussites, on condition of no prince being permitted to join their ranks. The nobility cast all the blame on the cowardly or egotistical policy pursued by the princes; the flight, however, chiefly arose from the disinclination of the common soldiers to serve against the Hussites, whose cause was deemed by them both glorious and just.

These dreadful disasters drew a declaration from Sigmund that the Bohemians could only subdue themselves, that peace must be concluded with them at any price, and that in time they would destroy each other. In consequence of these deliberations he assumed a supplicating attitude, and hypocritically assured them in writing of his good-will and of his present inclination to come to terms; to which they replied that his real intention was to lead them from the truth. He

then committed to the council of Basel the task of carrying on the negotiations, and withdrew.

The council, led by the spiritual and temporal lords, who were fully aware of the importance of the cause at stake, shared his opinion, and were, consequently, far more inclined to make concessions than was the pope, who refused to yield to any terms, preferring to throw the onus of the peace on others. The council therefore acted without reference to the pontiff, who in the meantime amused himself with solemnizing a farcical coronation of the emperor at Rome. The emperor remained, during the sitting of the council, in Italy, engaged with love affairs, although already sixty-three years of age. After openly procrastinating the ceremony, the pope at length gave full vent to his displeasure, in 1433, by causing the crown to be placed awry on Sigmund's head by another ecclesiastic, and then pushing it straight with his foot as the emperor knelt before him.

While these ridiculous scenes were enacting in Italy, negotiations were actively carried on at Basel. The cardinal, Julian, well versed in Bohemian politics, led the council, in which Frederick of Brandenburg exerted his influence in favor of the Hussites. The Bohemians were invited to Basel with every mark of respect, and all their proud conditions were ceded. They were granted a safe-conduct, the free exercise of their religion on their way to and even in the council, no terms of ridicule or reproach were to be permitted, all deliberations were to be suspended until their arrival, and the pope was to be treated as subordinate to the council. These concessions appear to have been intended to flatter the pride of Procop and of the republicans, in order to induce them to negotiate terms of peace. Rokizana appears to have entered into the projects of the council, and, possibly, owing to a belief that the favorable moment had arrived for securing religious freedom to Bohemia by an honorable peace, for he certainly knew that that country began to sigh for peace, and that the moderate party had secretly gained strength. Procop was secured by being

placed at the head of the embassy to Basel, and the republican brethren were wearied and dispersed by being sent upon fresh predatory incursions; a number of the Orphans were even sent into Poland to aid the Poles against the German Hospitalers, in return for which the Poles zealously upheld the Hussite cause at Basel.

On the 9th of January, 1433, three hundred Bohemians, mounted on horseback and accompanied by an immense multitude, entered Basel. Procop Holy, distinguished by his hawk nose, his dark and ominous-looking countenance, accompanied by John Rokizana, the head of the Bohemian clergy; Nicolas Peldrzimowski, surnamed Biscupek, the little bishop, the head of the Taborite preachers; Ulric, the head of the Orphan preachers; and Peter Payne, surnamed the Englishman, headed the procession, and were graciously received by the council, which patiently listened to their rough truths. Procop, being reproached with having said that the monks were an invention of the devil, replied, "Whose else can they be? for they were instituted neither by Moses, nor by the prophets, nor by Christ." The dispute was carried on for fifty days with the unbending spirit common to theologians; neither side yielded, and the Bohemians, weary of the futile debate, turned their steps homeward.

A solemn embassy was instantly sent after them, and the terms of the Hussites were conceded, but with reservations, which, it was trusted, would eventually undermine their cause. By this compact, the four articles of Prague were modified as follows: First, That the communion should be tolerated under both, but also under one form; Second, That preaching was certainly free, but that regular priests alone were to exercise that office; Third, That the clergy, although forbidden to possess lands, might administer property; Fourth, And that sins were to be extirpated, but only by those possessing legal authority. On the acceptance of these articles by the Hussites, the council hypocritically styled them the "first children of the church,"

such gross deceit did the fear inspired by these wild upholders of religious freedom prompt.

The proclamation of peace, and on such honorable terms, after such long and terrible commotions, exercised a magic influence on the crowd, and, added to the ill success and predatory incursions of the republican Hussites during Procop's absence, raised a general feeling against them; and Procop, on his return from Basel, found the other Hussite leaders either suspicious of his conduct or rebellious against his authority. Dissensions broke out in the camp, and, during a wild carouse, the plates were hurled at Procop's head. He returned moodily to Prague, but afterward yielded to the supplications of his soldiers and returned to the camp before Pilsen. The moderate party in Prague under Rokizana, and the nobility under Meinhart von Neuhausz, now boldly attempted to gain the upper hand. Procop the Little was driven from the Neustadt, after losing fifteen thousand men, and fled to the camp before Pilsen; Procop Holy instantly raised the siege and marched upon Prague. Neuhausz advanced to his rencontre, and a decisive battle was fought at Lippan, four miles from Prague, May 28, 1434. The two Procop's fell, fighting side by side. Neuhausz, unmindful of Procop's generosity toward his niece, Agnes, caused all the prisoners, to whom he had promised safety, to be locked into barns and burned to death, two days after the battle. The fugitives rallied at Comnicze, and were again defeated.

The nobility now placed themselves at the head of affairs, supported by Rokizana, who thoughtlessly sacrificed political freedom in order, as he imagined, to confirm that of religion. Caspar Schlick, Sigmund's crafty chancellor, managed the rest, and by means of these two a treaty was concluded in 1435, which bestowed the Bohemian crown upon Sigmund, freed Bohemia from the papal interdict, ratified the compact entered into by the Hussites and the council of Basel, nominated John Rokizana archbishop of Prague, and declared the Catholic religion subordinate to that of Huss, by

compelling Sigmund to have Hussite preachers in his court. The emperor, with his wonted hypocrisy, accepted the conditions, but had scarcely entered Prague (1436), with a large concourse of followers, than he threw off the mask, reinstated the Catholic religion, and ungratefully deposed and banished John Rokizana, to whom he owed the crown. The fanatics, notwithstanding their weak number, again flew to arms, and, after a desperate struggle, were completely annihilated. The last of the Taborites, Pardo von Czorka, was hunted down like a wild beast, found under a rock, and hanged.

The nobility, freed from their fanatical opponents, turned their attention homeward, and resolved to curb the violence of the emperor and to secure the maintenance of peace by a system of moderation. Sigmund was old, and his son-in-law, Albert of Habsburg, pursued an uncompromising policy. They therefore conspired with Rokizana and the empress, Barbara, to proclaim Wladislaw of Poland successor to the throne. Sigmund, on learning their intentions, perceived the false step he had taken, again made concessions, and, suddenly entering Moravia, seized the person of the faithless empress. He shortly afterward expired at Znaym, sitting in state "as lord of the world," as he vaingloriously boasted (1437). Albert, aided by the subtlety of Caspar Schlick, secured the succession, on condition of protecting the religious freedom of the Utraquists.

CLXXXVII.—*Disturbances in the Hanse Towns—Albert the Second—Frustration of the Reformation*

GERMANY, occupied with her own internal affairs, took little interest in those of Bohemia. The princes and cities were everywhere at feud. In Lubeck, the metropolis of the Hansa, dissensions broke out between the artisans and the merchants, and spread to Hamburg, Stade, Rostock, and Stettin. The pirates and Friscians regained courage and recommenced their depredations. In 1418, the people of

Bremen captured two Friscians, Gerold Lubben, and his brother Didde, and condemned them to execution. Gerold kissed the fallen head of his brother. The citizens, touched at the scene, offered him his life on condition of his marrying one of the citizens' daughters, to which he replied, "I am a noble Friscian, and despise your shoemakers' and furriers' daughters." His head was struck off.

The defeat of the Hanseatic fleet in the Sound by the Danes, in 1427, was a signal for fresh disturbances, the artisans laying the blame on the petty jealousy of the rich merchants. The town-councilors were murdered in almost all the cities, and the people, maddened with revenge, attacked the Danish king, Eric, whom they signally defeated. Had the Hansa leagued with the numerous and powerful cities of Upper and Lower Germany, the power of the princes, at that time weakened by dissension, must inevitably have sunk. Sigmund, although well aware of this, supported Denmark against the Hansa, instead of aiding the cities, which, misled by petty commercial jealousies, were ever engaged with internal dissensions, instead of acting in concert.

Elisabeth, the daughter of Sigmund, brought in dower to her husband, Albert of Austria, the whole of the Luxemburg inheritance, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, the Lausitz, and Hungary. The wealth and great possessions of the house of Habsburg had ever been chiefly acquired by marriage, hence the proverb, "*Tu felix Austria nube!*"—Albert was elected as Sigmund's successor on the throne of Germany. He was extremely dignified in his demeanor, tall and stout, grave and reserved. At the diet held at Nuremberg (1438) he divided the provinces, with the exception of the imperial and electoral hereditary possessions, into four circles, Franconian-Bavaria, Rhenish-Swabia, Westphalian-Netherlands, and Saxony, whose representatives swore to maintain peace.

Albert found, meanwhile, no adherents in his newly-acquired territory. Fresh dissensions broke out in Bohemia. Albert did not disguise his Catholic fanaticism. In 1420,

one hundred and ten heretics were burned in Vienna alone, and thirteen hundred Jews in Austria, for having aided the Hussites. The efforts made by Caspar Schlick, Albert's negotiator, to pacify the Bohemians, were almost contravened by this false policy. The Utraquists elected Wladislaw of Poland king, and intrenched themselves under Ptacek von Rattay on Mount Tabor, where they were besieged by Albert, who was compelled to raise the siege by George von Podiebrad. The Poles also making an inroad into Silesia, Albert hastened to make terms with Wladislaw, and, for that purpose, held a conference with him at Breslau, where he fell down some steps and broke his leg. Affairs also wore a serious aspect in Hungary. Shortly after the death of Sigmund, every German in Ofen was murdered by the Hungarians. The danger with which they were threatened by the Turks, however, rendered a union with the now powerful house of Habsburg necessary. As early as 1431, the Turks had recrossed the Kulpa and invaded Croatia. The irruption of the Turks under Sultan Murad caused still greater devastation; the Hungarians were defeated near Semendria, and such a vast number of people were reduced to slavery that a pretty girl was sold for a boot. Albert marched into Hungary in 1438, but his troops fled the moment the Turks came in sight. This emperor died in 1439 of eating melons.

The empress, Elisabeth, gave birth to a posthumous son, Ladislaw, who was placed under the guardianship of his cousin of Habsburg, Frederick of Styria, the son of Ernest and Cymburga, of whom little was known beyond his having made a quiet pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and his having carried on a feud with the insolent count of Cilly, nor was it until he had been raised to the throne as the head of the most powerful family in the empire that his incapacity was fully discovered. His influence was null, even in Austria, that country swarming with robbers.

Frederick III. considered eleven weeks before accepting the crown. He was a slow, grave man, with a large pro-

truding underlip, moderate and sedate on every occasion, averse to great actions of every description, and a stranger to the passions of the human heart; he delighted in scientific follies, such as dabbling in astrology and alchemy, in cultivating his garden, and in playing upon words. This emperor, nevertheless, reigned for fifty-three years over Germany during a period fraught with fate. Like his two predecessors, he was certainly aided by Caspar Schlick, a doctor who rose from among the ranks of the citizens to be chancellor of the empire; but this man, whose desert lies far beneath his fame, never performed one great deed, never understood the spirit of his times nor the duty of the crown, but solely occupied himself with decently veiling the incapacity of his three successive masters, and with deferring by his plausible negotiations the decision of the great questions that agitated the age.

Germany, during the long and almost undisturbed peace, indubitably gained time for the development of internal improvement in respect to her social welfare, art, and industry, and even for the partial regulation of the empire by the federative system, by the union of the lesser and greater Estates of the empire in the circles, that of the ecclesiastical orders with those of knighthood and of the citizens in the provincial diets, by the government of the electorates and duchies, by the new method of judicature, and finally, by the corporative system in the cities; it is, nevertheless, impossible to speak in terms of admiration of an age during which so many unnatural circumstances became second nature to the German, and during which the empire was transformed into a helpless and often a motionless machine, incapable of improvement save by destruction. So long as the Estates of the empire held an undecided position in respect to each other, so long as it still appeared possible for this enormous mass of spiritual and temporal, great, less, and petty members of the empire, to conglomerate, so as finally to form one mass, or, at all events, to confederate, according to their original nationalities, in less compact masses, the wildest of the

feudal times was not without a ray of hope, but, when the members of the state, great and petty, petrified as they stood, in varied disorder, the disease under which the empire labored turned from acute to chronic, a passing evil was transformed into a stationary, apparently natural one, and the holy empire, like the incurable paralytic, had merely dissolution left to hope for.

The council at Basel still sat. On the settlement of the Bohemian question, that for the introduction of the long-sighed-for reform in the other parts of the empire, and for the abolition of the most glaring of the church abuses, was agitated. The example of the Hussites had rendered the assembled heads of the church sensible of the necessity of measures being taken for the prevention of a more general outbreak. The open immorality of the priests (the chief charge made against them by the Hussites, who had undertaken to extirpate the sins protected by the church) was, consequently, restrained, besides the desecration of churches by revels, fairs, and licentious festivals, and the most notorious of the papal methods of extracting money, such as annates, etc. These resolutions were adopted by the council in 1435, and ratified by the imperial diet held at Mayence in 1439. Eugenius IV. openly opposed them, and was, in consequence, deposed by the council, and Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was elected in his stead, as Felix V.¹ An able sovereign at this period, by taking advantage of the favorable disposition of the council, might have produced a bloodless reformation in the church, but the imperial crown was on a slumberer's brow, Roman wiles were again triumphant, and the horrors of the Hussite war seemed scarcely to have left a trace.

The emperor, during his first diet held at Frankfort on the Maine, solemnly placed the poet's wreath with his own hand on the brow of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the private

¹ A dreadful pestilence raged at that time in Basel, and carried off five thousand persons. The celebrated picture of the Dance of Death, afterward renewed by Holbein, was painted in memory of this calamity.

secretary of the council, a witty Tuscan, whose poems had brought him into note. He was a friend of Caspar Schlick. When commissioned by the council to act as their negotiator with Frederick III., he quitted their service in order to become his private secretary and biographer, and being sent by him to Rome for the purpose of inducing Eugenius IV. to submit to the council of Basel, abandoned his imperial master, became private secretary to the pope, entered the church, and ever afterward exerted his talents in defence of the tiara against both the council and the emperor, and endeavored to win the latter who was extremely bigoted, over to the papal cause. In this plan he was aided by Caspar Schlick, and the consequent union between the pope and the emperor speedily disarmed the council, whose zeal in the cause of reform, never very sincere, had gradually become more lukewarm. The defection of the once energetic cardinal, Julian, was followed by that of almost all the rest, with the exception of the temporal princes of Germany, who still insisted upon the maintenance of the former resolutions passed by the council and accepted by the imperial diet at Mayence, and earnestly pointed out the danger of fresh disturbances on the part of the people in case the old abuses were again tolerated. The archbishops of Cologne and Treves, who sided with them, being arbitrarily deprived of their miters by Eugenius in 1445, the electors convoked a fresh assembly at Frankfort on the Maine in 1446, and dispatched George von Heimburg at the head of an embassy to Rome, where he boldly addressed the pope in terms inspired by his sense of the insults offered to the dignity of the empire, and the injuries inflicted upon her by the hypocritical Roman. Æneas Sylvius, who had preceded him to Rome, however, found means to pacify the pope, and craftily counseled him to dissemble his wrath and to amuse the infuriated Germans, while he worked upon the council by means of the apostate Nicolas of Cusa. Terms had already been made with the emperor, and nothing more was wanting for the success of their plans than to instigate the people

against the princes. The jealousy of the citizens of Frankfurt was aroused, and they formally declared themselves subservient to the emperor alone. Æneas Sylvius finally succeeded in bribing John von Lisura, the chief counselor of the electors of Mayence, one of the principal founders of the federation (*foederis auctor et defensor*), the counselors of Brandenburg, the archbishops of Salzburg and Magdeburg, etc. The false step taken by the remaining electors of Cologne, Treves, Pfalz, and Saxony, who sought the support of France, and to conclude a treaty with that power at Bourges in 1447, naturally rendered the originally just and national cause of the electoral assembly extremely unpopular, and placed the victory in the hands of the papal party. The four electors were compelled to submit, and declared their determination to maintain the resolutions ratified at Mayence with the reservation of an indemnity to the pope. Eugenius expired at this conjuncture, and Felix was compelled to abdicate. His successor, Nicolas V., emboldened by these precedents, concluded a separate Concordat, that of Vienna, with the emperor, in 1448, to which the princes gave their assent, not publicly in the diet, but singly as they were gradually won over, and by which every resolution of the council of Basel, relating to the restriction of papal abuses, was simply retracted.

Thus by an impious diplomacy were the people deceived, and thus was the warning voice of history, the great lesson taught by the Hussite war, despised. But, at the moment when the hopes of the people for a reformation in the church by its heads fell, a new power rose from among themselves—John Gutenberg discovered the art of printing.

PART XV

THE AGE OF MAXIMILIAN

CLXXXVIII. *The Swiss Wars—The Armagnacs—
George von Podiebrad*

DURING the century that elapsed from the first unsuccessful attempt of the Bohemian reformers to the great and signal triumph of those of Saxony, history merely presents a succession of petty and isolated facts. The emperor slumbered on his throne; the princes and cities were solely occupied in promoting their individual interests, and popular outbreaks had become rare, the people finding a vent for their fanatical rage in combating the French and Turks. The insolence of the pope, now totally unopposed, overstepped all bounds, and the hierarchy, far from gaining wisdom or learning caution from the past, fondly deemed their strength invincible, and shamelessly pursued their former course the moment the storm had passed away.

War was carried on with various success, between the free cantons of Switzerland, the French and Italians, from 1402 to 1428. The peasants in the Rhætian Alps also asserted their independence at this period, and, in 1396, formed a confederacy against the nobility and clergy at Truns; this confederacy, denominated the grau or gray Bund, from the gray frocks worn by the peasants, gave name to the whole country of the Grisons, or Graubiündten. This was followed by the war between Schwyz and Zurich, occasioned by the refusal of the latter to join the confederation and the maintenance of its claims on the country of

Toggenburg. The emperor, Frederick III., in the hope of regaining the Habsburg possessions, invited, in 1439, a body of French mercenaries, the Armagnacs, so named from their leader, to invade Switzerland. The pope, who thought this a good opportunity for dispersing the council at Basel, also countenanced the scheme, but, instead of four thousand mercenaries, an army of thirty thousand men, headed by Louis, the French Dauphin, crossed the German frontier, for the purpose, not of aiding, but of conquering Germany. Shortly before this, Charles VII. of France had mulcted the city of Metz without any resistance being offered on the part of the emperor. The Armagnacs, the majority of whom consisted of the dregs of the populace, of escaped and branded criminals, met with a friendly reception from the nobility of the upper country, who even condescended to gamble and carouse with them on an equal footing, but they no sooner approached Basel than the confederated peasantry, at that time besieging Zurich, dispatched fifteen hundred men to Basel, where the citizens manfully protected their walls. An unexpected rencontre taking place on the Birs between this small troop and the whole of the French army, a dreadful struggle ensued; the Swiss were overpowered, and the remnant, five hundred in number, taking refuge in the hospital of St. Jacob, withstood the siege for a whole day. Six thousand of the French were slain. The Swiss were at length cut to pieces by the Austrian cavalry; ninety-nine were suffocated in the hospital, which had been set on fire by the besiegers; one only of the fifteen hundred, Æbli of Glarus, escaped death. On recovering from his wounds, he was chosen Landamman by his fellow-countrymen. Sixteen Swiss, who had escaped by flight, were branded and banished. The red wine produced from the vineyards on the Birs has since borne the name of Schweizerblut, Swiss blood. The Dauphin, dispirited by his dearly-won victory, hastily retreated on learning the advance of the main body of the confederated army, and retraced his steps down the Rhine, pillaging and burning on his route. One hundred and ten

villages were reduced to ashes, and several thousands of the peasantry inhumanly butchered. The emperor's ambassadors were contemptuously dismissed. The citizens of Strasbourg sallied forth, defeated the Armagnacs, and regained the banner taken from the Swiss at St. Jacob. The Rhenish princes were, nevertheless, so imbittered against the cities as even to prohibit their serfs to furnish the citizens with the necessary provisions, and to allow the enemy, unopposed, to lay the country waste. In the Weilerthal, five hundred peasants rolled great stones upon the heads of the foe as they wound through the pass. Metz was besieged by the Armagnacs, who were at length induced by a bribe to recross the frontiers.

The Austrians again attempted to aid Zurich, but being defeated at Ragaz, Zurich concluded peace, and renounced her alliance with the emperor, in 1446. Toggenburg passed by inheritance into the family of Raron, by whom it was sold, in 1469, to St. Gall. The confederates destroyed several castles belonging to the Austrian nobility, particularly Falkenstein, and, in 1471, the three confederated cantons entered into a treaty of mutual defence with the Grisons.

In Hungary, the new-born prince, Ladislaw, had been crowned king by the German faction. His mother, Elisabeth, according to Æneas Sylvius, had fostered a wish to wed Wladislaw of Poland for the greater safety of her son. She is said to have been poisoned, at the emperor's instigation, in 1442. The Hungarians, ever harassed by the Turks, shortly afterward elected Wladislaw king. This monarch was killed during the same year, 1444, at Varna, where his army was defeated by the overwhelming forces of the Turks, who afterward turned toward Austria, where they contented themselves with pillaging and devastating the country, and carrying off the inhabitants. Frederick III., peaceably occupied with his garden, left them unopposed, nor once dreamed of seconding the efforts of the noble John Hunyadi, who, unaided, made head with the Hungarians against the barbarian invader.

In Bohemia, Ladislav was universally recognized king, but the Estates, between whom a reconciliation had taken place in a great diet held at Prague in 1440, governed in his stead. The chiefs of the two factions, Meinhard von Neuhausz and Ptaczek, divided the government. The Utraquists, however, gradually regained the upper hand; Rokizana was reinstated in the see of Prague, and George von Podiebrad, a descendant of the German house of Bernegg and Nidda, which had migrated to Bohemia, ruled in the field. On the death of Ptaczek, he placed himself at the head of the free-thinkers, and, on the refusal of the pope to recognize the articles of Prague, and the theft of the original documents by Cardinal Carvajel, suppressed the rising power of the Catholic faction, took Prague by surprise, threw Meinhard von Neuhausz into prison, where he expired, 1448, and seized the sole government. The example of Hunyadi and George found an imitator in Austria, in one Eitzinger, a Bavarian by birth, who ruled in that province at the head of the Estates.

The emperor, incapable of wielding the scepter, and jealous of his youthful competitor, Ladislav, kept him under strict surveillance, and, in the hope of transmitting the crown to a descendant of his own, wedded Eleonora of Portugal, a princess of great beauty and wit. The bridal pair met at Siena, were crowned at Rome, and celebrated their wedding at Naples, where the fountains were made to flow with wine, and thirty thousand guests were feasted (1452). The successful attempt of the Tyrolean Estates to release their duke, Sigmund, then a minor, from the hands of Frederick, inspired Eitzinger, and the Count von Cilly, with a similar design in favor of Ladislav, and Frederick no sooner reached Neustadt, his usual place of residence, than he was compelled to deliver him into their hands. Ladislav was instantly proclaimed king of Hungary and Bohemia, where he was received with the greatest manifestations of delight; but, misled by the Count Ulric von Cilly, he speedily acquired a disinclination for grave affairs, and having the folly to act

as a zealous upholder of Catholicism in Bohemia, where he publicly treated the Utraquist faction, and their archbishop, Rokizana, with contempt, he quickly lost the confidence of the people, who once more turned to their ancient favorite, George von Podiebrad. This leader had, meanwhile, defeated the sons of Meinhard von Neuhausz with their allies of Meissner, and had carried his victorious arms into the heart of Saxony. Disturbances also took place in Silesia, where the petty princes of the race of Piast refused to do homage to Ladislaw and besieged the city of Liegnitz, which was, in reward for its fidelity, chartered by Ladislaw in 1453. Austria also became a scene of intrigue. Ulric von Cilly was deprived of his power by Eitzinger, whom he had treated with great ingratitude, and by the Austrian Estates. Ladislaw was compelled to part with his favorite, who was driven by the mob out of Vienna, but shortly afterward found means to regain his former station, and Eitzinger was exiled.

Hungary was equally misgoverned. The people, however, possessed in John Hunyadi a powerful leader, equal to the exigencies of the times. In 1453, the capture of Constantinople and the consequent destruction of the Grecian empire by the sultan, Mahomet III., struck Christendom with terror. Nicolas V., Æneas Sylvius, and their chief tool, an Italian monk, John Capistrano, general of the Capuchins, preached a crusade, and attempted to rouse the fanaticism of the people against the Turks, Capistrano travelling for that purpose through the greater part of Germany; but his eloquence, although it influenced the bigotry, failed to rouse the military ardor, of the people. In Silesia, where he preached with great vehemence against the Jews, every individual belonging to that hapless race was burned alive. The princes, instead of joining the crusade at his summons, contented themselves with praying and ringing the Turkish bells, as they were called. A force of 3,000 peasants, armed with flails and pitchforks, whom he inspired with extraordinary enthusiasm, was all he succeeded in mustering in Ger-

many, and with this he saved Belgrade, already given up as lost by Hunyadi, as if by miracle; the Turks were repulsed from the walls, their intrenchments carried, twenty-four thousand of them slain, their camp and three hundred cannon taken, and the sultan was wounded. Capistrano, in the one hand a stick, in the other a crucifix, was seen in the thickest of the fight (1455). Hunyadi expired, and was shortly afterward followed by Capistrano. Ladislaw and Matthias Corvinus, Hunyadi's two sons, now became the objects of their sovereign's jealousy. A letter sent by Ulric von Cilly to the despot of Servia, in which he promised to send him ere long two balls to play with (the heads of the youthful Hunyadi), becoming known to them, Ladislaw Hunyadi slew Ulric, and was in revenge beheaded by the king, Matthias, who lay in prison in expectation of a similar fate, was liberated by the death of the king, Ladislaw, who fell a victim to excess at the age of eighteen, and was placed by the Hungarians on the throne in 1457, the emperor displaying his usual indifference on the occasion.

The Bohemians now raised their favorite, George von Podiebrad, to the throne, and an alliance was formed between him and Matthias of Hungary, to whom he gave his daughter Caterina in marriage. The loss of both these kingdoms was peaceably submitted to by the emperor, to whom Matthias had presented 60,000 ducats, while George aided him against his brother, Albert the Squanderer. The Austrian nobility treated the emperor with insolence, and Albert intrigued against him. An electoral assembly was even held at Eger, in 1461, for the purpose of raising George von Podiebrad to the imperial throne, but the confusion consequent on the war in the Pfalz caused the matter to drop. Vienna, meanwhile, revolted against the emperor, the town-council was thrown out of the windows of the town-house; Wolfgang Holzer, the former instigator of the tumult against Ulric von Cilly, again took the lead, and the emperor degraded himself so far as to flatter the rebellious citizens in order to be permitted to enter his castle. The empress Eleo-

nora, revolted by this conduct, said to her little son, Max, "Could I believe you capable of demeaning yourself like your father, I should lament your being destined to the throne." Some knights firing from the castle upon the citizens, the emperor was, at the instigation of Albert, formally besieged. George von Podiebrad, however, took the part of the unfortunate emperor, and raised the siege. His son, Victorin, was, in return for this service, created duke of Munsterberg. Peace was concluded, and the emperor consented to cede Vienna to his brother Albert, who, forgetful of the services of the citizens, ruled them with a rod of iron, and condemned Holzer, who now favored the emperor, to the wheel. Albert died in 1463, leaving Austria in a state of great confusion and frequented by robbers. Matthias of Hungary, whom the emperor called to his aid against them, caused two hundred and eighty to be hanged, and five hundred (three hundred of whom were women) to be drowned in the Danube; notwithstanding which, the empress was robbed while taking the waters at Baden, by the knights von Stein and Puchheim.

George defended the Lausitz against the claims of Saxony, and sought to maintain the alliance anciently subsisting between Silesia and Bohemia. The German citizens of Breslau, whom he had unintentionally offended, alone viewed him with implacable hatred, and defended their town against the whole of his forces in 1459. The pope, Pius II., who still favored George, sent his legate, Hieronymus of Crete, to negotiate terms of peace, but the citizens refused to yield. The pope, who had meanwhile succeeded in winning over Matthias of Hungary, and in separating him from George, now threw off the mask, revoked the articles of Prague, and placed George under an interdict. This act of treachery remained at first without result, Matthias being still too powerless to attack Bohemia. Pius expired in 1465. His successor, Paul II., carried his zeal against the Bohemian heretics to a more violent degree, caused George's ambassadors to be driven with rods out of Rome, and despatched another legate,

Rudolf, bishop of Lavant, to Silesia, Saxony, and Bohemia, for the purpose of preaching a crusade against the heretical king; and a murderous war consequently sprang up on the frontiers of Bohemia between the Catholics and the Hussites, each party branding their prisoners with the cup or the cross. George was, nevertheless, victorious in every quarter (1467), but, being ungratefully abandoned by the emperor, his son-in-law, Matthias, attacked him, and caused himself to be proclaimed king in Bohemia by the Catholic faction and by the Silesians. George, however, watched him in the forests of Wylemow, where he caused the trees, within an enormous circle, to be half sawn through, and the moment Matthias entered the circle, to be suddenly thrown down, and shut him up so closely that he agreed to make peace, and to pay the expenses of the war. Matthias no sooner found himself in safety than he infringed the peace, sent George a chestful of sand instead of the promised gold, every oath taken to a heretic being pronounced disobligatory by the pope, and collected his forces for a fresh attack, in 1468. George fell sick; excommunicated, surrounded by innumerable foes, and plainly foreseeing that the Bohemian crown could not remain in his family, he entreated the Bohemians to place Wladislaw of Poland, their ablest defender, on the throne. The news of the capture of his son, Victorin, by the Hungarians, reached him shortly before his death in 1471.

Wladislaw became king of Bohemia, and, in order to conciliate the pope, persecuting the Utraquists, a revolt took place; the citizens of Prague threw their burgomaster out of the window, and deprived several of the town-councilors of their heads. Their most furious attacks were directed against the monks and priests. Tranquillity was at length restored by the sons of the late king, Victorin and Henry, who had regained their liberty, and Wladislaw consented to treat the Utraquists with less rigor, 1483.

CLXXXIX. *Fritz the Bad—The German Hospitalers—
The Burgundian Wars—Mary of Burgundy*

FREDERICK, the Rhenish Pfalzgraf, surnamed by his enemies Fritz the Bad, was a man of an impetuous, decisive character, and sided with the Upper Germans against the emperor and the pope. In 1461, he and George von Heimburg were actively engaged in forwarding the election of George von Podiebrad by the electoral assembly convoked at Eger, which being violently opposed by the pope and the emperor, the war in the Pfalz broke out. Fritz the Bad built a tower at Heidelberg, named by him Trutz-Kaiser, in defiance of the emperor. Mayence fell into the hands of the imperialists, and was deprived of her charter, Adolf of Nassau saying to the citizens, as he pointed to a large stone in the market-place, "Your privileges shall not be restored until this stone shall melt." Ulric of Wurtemberg and Charles of Baden, the emperor's confederates, committed the most terrible depredations in the Pfalz, tying large branches of trees to their horses' tails in order the more effectually to destroy the corn through which they rode. Fritz, seconded by the enraged peasantry, was victorious at Seckenheim, where Ulric, George, bishop of Metz, and Charles fell into his hands, 1462, and Albert Achilles being afterward defeated by Fritz's ally, Louis of Bavaria, who, on this occasion, took the imperial banner, peace was concluded between the contending parties. Fritz sumptuously entertained the captive princes, but left them unfurnished with bread, saying, on their complaining of this treatment, that they had destroyed all the corn on the ground with their own hands. On their refusal to pay the ransom demanded, he put them, lightly dressed, into an icy-cold room with their feet in the stocks. Ulric and Charles cost their Estates one hundred thousand florins each, while the bishop was merely valued at forty-five thousand.

Fritz the Bad rendered himself still further remarkable

by his marriage, notwithstanding the prejudices of birth, with Clara Dettin, the daughter of a citizen of Augsburg, renowned for her extraordinary beauty and vocal powers. Their children, compelled to cede the Pfalz to Bavaria, took the title of Lœwenstein, and founded the present princely house of that name.

At the diet held at Ulm, 1466, the pope attempted to persuade the princes to make head against the Turks, now at the summit of their power. War, more especially when foreign, was at this period carried on by means of mercenaries. These mercenaries were, however, well paid, and on the present occasion each Estate sought to lay the expense on the other, the princes demanding that the greater part of the necessary supplies should be furnished by the cities, which on their part refused not so much from avarice as from hatred of the princes. The nobility, merely intent upon emancipating themselves, constituted a counts' union as an intermediate power between the princes and the cities, which, in 1512, occupied a separate bench in the diet. A promise of 20,000 mercenaries was all the pope could obtain.

In the ensuing year the emperor performed a pilgrimage to Rome, not for the purpose of regulating the affairs of Italy, not on account of Venice, which, since 1463, had been at war with Trieste, nor on account of Sforza, the bold mercenary leader, who, since the extinction of the house of Visconti, had seized the duchy of Milan, but solely and simply in performance of a pious vow. By his personal subserviency to the pope he rendered himself ridiculous, and on his return, in 1469, found his empire in a state of general disturbance. Continually in want of money, he had already caused false coin to be struck, and, nevertheless, left the mercenaries, furnished for him by his adherents, unpaid. The murmuring soldiery found an advocate in Andreas Baunkirchner, the emperor's true-hearted servant; but Frederick, instead of satisfying their just claims, invited Andreas to a conference at Grætz, promising him safety until vespers, and detained him in conversation, until Baum-

kirchner, at length perceiving that the day was drawing to a close, rushed out, and, leaping into his saddle, galloped toward the gate; at that moment the vesper bell rang, the portcullis dropped, he was disarmed and beheaded beneath the gateway. Thus did a Habsburg reward fidelity.

In the same year, 1469, the Turks once more invaded Carniola; the aid promised by the diet had been procrastinated, and on their evacuating the country, and the breaking out of dissension between them and Matthias of Hungary, it still continued to be so. The question was again laid before the diet held at Ratisborn in 1471, but the emperor fell asleep during the first debate. The ten thousand men voted on this occasion were never raised.

Frederick indemnified himself for the obloquy he had incurred as emperor, and for the losses of his house, with the new title of archduke, which, in 1453, he bestowed upon the house of Habsburg. A complaint in his feet, the consequence of a bad practice of kicking open every door that happened to be closed, chiefly contributed to his isolated residence at Neustadt. One of his feet having mortified, he was obliged to submit to amputation. "Ah," exclaimed he, "a healthy boor is better than a sick Roman emperor!"

The German Hospitals in Prussia were, meanwhile, totally deprived of their power. In 1412, a great revolution broke out. The provincial nobility, oppressed by their tyranny, rebelled and threw off their yoke. In 1440, a league was publicly entered into by the Prussian cities and the provincial nobility, for the purpose of "appeasing the internal dissensions of the Order, of protecting the country against the Poles, of securing their persons and their property, and of defending right." This league was vainly prohibited by the Order and invalidated by the pope's bull. The contending parties referred the matter to the emperor, who at first favored the popular party, and afterward, 1453, put the confederates out of the ban of the empire, in consequence of which the Prussians threw off their allegiance to the Order, and placed themselves under the protection of Po-

land. A furious war instantly broke out: Casimir of Poland entered the country, where he was received with acclamations of delight; more particularly by the citizens of Dantzic, who beheld in their union with Poland an increase of commercial prosperity on account of the opening of the Vistula. This city alone furnished fifteen thousand mercenaries toward the war.

The arrival of a body of fifteen thousand German mercenaries in the following year, 1454, to the aid of the Order, turned the tide of war. The Poles suffered a signal defeat. The elector of Brandenburg, who dreaded the increasing power of his Polish neighbors, vainly attempted to negotiate terms of peace, in the hope of saving the Order from utter destruction. The Bohemian mercenaries, no longer paid by the impoverished grand-master, seized his person, and sold him and the whole of Western Prussia to Casimir for 436,000 florins. The German population, however, speedily rebelled against the Polish rule, and a petty war was carried on until 1466, when peace was finally concluded at Thorn, and the grand-master, completely deserted by his German allies, was, besides ceding Western Prussia, compelled to hold Eastern Prussia in fee of the Polish crown.

A war of thirteen years had transformed Prussia into a desert; one thousand and nineteen churches had been destroyed, those that remained standing, plundered and desecrated; out of twenty-one thousand villages but three thousand and thirteen remained, and, as if to render the misery complete, a dreadful pestilence broke out in 1463, which carried off twenty thousand persons in Dantzic alone.

The dukes of Burgundy had, at this period, risen to a great degree of opulence and power; Charles the Bold, who succeeded his father, Philip the Good (1467), destroyed Liege, whose citizens were encouraged by his mortal foe, Louis XI. of France (1468), put all the male inhabitants remaining in the city to the sword, and threw several thousand women, tied back to back, into the Meuse. In 1472, he liberated the duke Arnold of Guelders, who had been im-

prisoned by his wife, Catherine of Cleves, and his unnatural son, Adolf, and was in consequence declared heir to Guelders. Nimwegen, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Metz were laid under contribution in 1473.

The emperor, Frederick III., had again lost the whole of the rich Luxemburg inheritance, Bohemia, and Hungary, was despised throughout the empire, had been more than once attacked, and was at length threatened with great danger by the Turks. His hopes now solely centered in his son, Maximilian, a youth of great promise, for whom he aspired to the hand of Mary, the lovely heiress of Charles the Bold. It was on this account that Sigmund of the Tyrol was compelled to hypothecate the government of Alsace to Charles, who was also on this account allowed, unopposed, to destroy Liege, to mulct Aix-la-Chapelle and Metz, and to seize Guelders. These preliminary civilities over, the crippled emperor went to Treves in order to hold a conference with the bold duke, who far outvied him in magnificence. The negotiation, nevertheless, remained unconcluded. Charles demanded the title of king of Burgundy, but on the emperor's insisting on the marriage being concluded beforehand, procrastinated the matter; Louis XI. of France having also sued for the hand of Mary for his son, and it being to his advantage to keep the rival monarchs in a state of indecision. The pope, who not long afterward sided with Charles against the emperor, appears to have willingly aided in hindering a marriage by which the power of a German house would receive so considerable an accession. Frederick III., offended at this treatment, suddenly quitted Treves (1473), without taking leave of or bestowing the royal dignity on Charles, who revenged the insult by attacking Cologne, whence he was repulsed with great loss.

The tyrannical conduct of Peter von Hagenbach, governor of Alsace, had meanwhile rendered the Burgundian rule detested by the Alsations and their neighbors the Swiss. This circumstance afforded the emperor an opportunity for taking up arms as protector of the empire, and he accord-

ingly took the field against Charles the Bold, who was at that time besieging Neuss, while Sigmund of the Tyrol raised a powerful conspiracy against Burgundy in Upper Germany; Basel, Strasburg, and the cities of the Upper Rhine as far as Constance, laying aside their ancient hatred of the Austrian dynasty, in order to repel their common foe. Sigmund released the government of Alsace, the cities furnishing the necessary sum, 80,000 florins. Charles's refusal to accept it was totally disregarded; the whole of Alsace threw off her allegiance to Burgundy, and raised the standard of the Habsburg. Hagenbach was beheaded at Breisach in 1474.

The emperor had meanwhile encamped before Neuss. The two camps lay in such close vicinity that balls fell from that of Charles into the emperor's tent and carriage. A truce was agreed to on the intervention of the pope, Charles promising to withdraw without coming to a battle, and the emperor not to follow him; that is, to leave the Swiss, whom Charles was about to attack, to their fate. The execution of Hagenbach, who had been condemned by the confederation, furnished him with a plausible pretext, and he accordingly entered into a close alliance with Iolantha of Savoy, who governed in the name of her infant children, and with Sforza of Milan, who sympathized in his antipathy to the bold Swiss peasantry. His adversaries, René II. of Lothringia, who took refuge in Switzerland, and Henry of Wurtemberg, who resided at Mumpelgard, fell into his hands. Mumpelgard, however, refused to surrender. The Swiss rose en masse, slew two thousand five hundred of the Burgundians, whom they totally defeated at Ericourt in 1474, garrisoned the whole of Valais belonging to Savoy, and formed a league with the Vallisers, who guarded the passes toward Lombardy, and defeated two thousand Lombards and Venetians, who were marching to Charles's aid, 1475.

The Swiss had dispersed to their several cantons, leaving the forts strongly garrisoned, when Charles undertook a second campaign against them, 1476, at the head of an overwhelming force. The emperor, instead of sending aid,

permitted Sigmund to seize Engadin, a fort appertaining to the Grisons. Louis XI. promised them pecuniary assistance. Strasburg was the only city to which the confederation applied that sent effectual aid. The little garrison of Granson was faithlessly butchered by Charles, to whom it had surrendered on a promise of safety. This perfidy was nobly avenged by the confederated Swiss, who gained a signal triumph, completely routed the Burgundians, despoiled their camp, and took their artillery. Charles was, however, speedily reinforced from Savoy and Italy, and laid siege to Murten on the lake, beneath whose walls a furious engagement took place, in which twenty-six thousand of the Burgundians were either slain or driven into the lake, whose waters were dyed with the frightful carnage, 1476.

Charles, maddened with rage, vented his fury on his ally, Iolantha of Savoy, whom he threw into prison together with her children with the intent of depriving them of their inheritance. When attempting to reduce Nancy by famine, he was attacked by the Swiss and Austrians, who, seeing Charles's star on the wane, had joined their former confederates, and was completely routed. His horse fell with him into a morass, where he was suffocated. His frozen corpse was cut out with the hatchet in 1477. Louis XI. presented the Swiss confederation with 24,000 florins. Engelbert of Nassau, who fell into their hands, was ransomed with 50,000 florins. The Valais was restored to Savoy. Unter Valais joined the confederation.

The duchy of Burgundy was, immediately on the death of Charles, seized by Louis XI., who was only withheld from occupying the county of Burgundy by the Swiss, who refused to tolerate him in their neighborhood. He was also rejected by the Netherlands. His infamous favorite, Olivier de Dain,¹ was expelled Ghent, and his field-badge, the white cross, was exposed at Arras on the gallows. Arras was taken and destroyed, but Ghent stoutly bade him defiance. The heads of the Burgundian town-councilors, and of sev-

¹ His barber, a monster in human form, like his master.

eral of the nobility who favored the French, fell; among others, those of Humbercourt and Hugonet, the chief counselors of the youthful duchess, notwithstanding her passionate entreaties. Adolph of Guelders, in the hope of regaining the possessions of which he had been so justly deprived, placed himself at the head of the Flemish, who promised to reward his success with the hand of the duchess, but fell at Tournay opposing the French. His son Charles, then a minor, fell into the hands of the French king in 1477.

Mary of Burgundy, anxious alike to escape the merciless grasp of this royal monster and the rule of the wild democracy of Ghent, at first endeavored to conciliate the Dutch by the promulgation of the great charter, in which she vowed neither to marry, nor to levy taxes, nor to make war, without their consent, and conceded to them the right of convoking the Estates, of minting, and of freely voting on every question. In the hope of gaining a greater accession of power by a foreign marriage, she skillfully worked upon the dread with which the French were viewed by her subjects, to influence them in favor of Maximilian, the handsomest youth of his day, whom she is said to have seen at an earlier period at Treves, or, as some say, of whose picture she had become enamored. Max inherited the physical strength of his grandmother, Cymburga of Poland, and the mental qualities of his Portuguese mother, surpassed all other knights in chivalric feats, was modest, gentle, and amiable. Mary confessed to the assembled Estates of the Netherlands that she had already interchanged letters and rings with him, and the marriage was resolved upon. Max hastened to Ghent, and, mounted on a brown steed, clothed in silver-gilt armor, his long blond locks crowned with a bridegroom's wreath resplendent with pearls and precious stones, rode into the city, where he was met by Mary. The youthful pair, on beholding one another, knelt in the public street and sank into each other's arms. "Welcome, art thou to me, thou noble German," said the young duchess, "whom I have so long desired and now behold with delight!"

This event greatly enraged the French monarch, who at length succeeded in persuading the Swiss to enter into alliance with him, and to cede to him the county of Burgundy in 1478. Max speedily deprived him of the territory he had seized in the Netherlands, 1479. Louis, finding other means unsuccessful, now attempted to kindle the flames of civil war, and instigated the faction of the Hoecks against that of the Kabeljaus, which Max favored. This young prince, unaccustomed to civil liberty, had recourse to violence, and gave his mercenaries license to murder and pillage. The heads of the faction were executed at Leyden. The protection granted by him to the young Count von Hoorn, the murderer of John von Dudselle, the popular ringleader at Ghent, increased the wrath of the people. The marriage that had commenced under such happy auspices also found a wretched termination. On the convocation to Herzogenbusch of all the knights of the Golden Fleece, an order instituted by Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1430, a scaffolding fell in and numbers of the spectators were killed. This was regarded as an unlucky omen. Cheerfulness was, however, restored by another and a better omen on the knighting of Mary's little son, Philip, who, during the ceremony, drew his sword to defend himself against the knight who had touched him on the shoulder. Mary had, besides this son, given birth to a daughter, Margaret, and was again pregnant, when she was, while hunting, thrown from horseback, and dangerously hurt by the stump of a tree, against which she was squeezed by her fallen horse. From a false feeling of delicacy, she concealed her state until surgical aid was unavailing, and expired in the bloom of life, 1482. The death of the beauteous duchess was a signal for general revolt, and Max, perceiving his inability to make head both against France and his rebellious subjects, concluded the peace of Arras with the former, and promised his daughter, Margaret, to the Dauphin, with Artois, Boulogne, and the county of Burgundy in dowry, 1482. Margaret was sent to Paris. Burgundy and the Arelat were united to France.

Peace being thus concluded with his most formidable opponent, Max turned his whole forces against the rebellious Hœcks, who had taken possession of Utrecht. They were defeated in 1483. The Flemish, nevertheless, refused submission to the Habsburg, by whom their ancient liberties were neither understood nor respected, and seized the person of the young duke, Philip, whom they alone recognized as Mary's successor. A revolt took place at Bruges, where Max was taken prisoner by the citizens, his councilors were put to the rack in the public market, and, on the news of the approach of an army to the relief of the Habsburg, beheaded. Maximilian's celebrated jester, Kunz von der Rosen, attempted to release his master, and swam by night across the fosse of the castle where he was confined, but was attacked and driven back by the swans, 1488.

The emperor summoned the whole of the vassals of the empire to the field in order to liberate his son, and the pope hurled his fulminations against the rebels. The princes, enraged at the temerity of the burgesses to imprison one of their order, assembled in great numbers beneath the imperial banner, and bore all before them. The first burgher of Ghent who fell into the emperor's hands was nailed to a door, with the inscription, "Thus will be treated all who have imprisoned the Roman king," and sent floating down the stream to Ghent. The defeat of the citizens of Bruges struck the rebels with dismay, and their royal captive was set at liberty on binding himself by oath not to take revenge nor to injure their privileges. Max, who had been four months a prisoner, took the oath demanded and went into the Tyrol, to escape the necessity of breaking it; but his father refused to comply with these terms, and notwithstanding the aid furnished by the French, the Flemish were defeated at Bertborg in 1489. Nieuport repulsed the attack of the French army. The Hœcks, under Franz von Brederode, secured themselves in Rotterdam, and were supported by Philip of Cleves. Albert of Saxony, the imperial stadtholder, vainly besieged Brussels, until seconded by a pesti-

lence which carried off almost the whole of the inhabitants. The power of the Hoecks now declined. Rotterdam was taken, and Brederode retired to Flanders, where he turned pirate and greatly harassed the imperialists. He was taken in a naval engagement off Brouwershaven, and died a few days after of his mismanaged wounds, aged twenty-four, in 1490. Philip of Cleves took refuge in France.

The flames of war appeared to rage with redoubled fury in Flanders, on the rape of Anna of Brittany, whom Max had demanded in marriage, and who was captured by Charles of France when on her way to Germany, and compelled to marry him, in revenge for the loss of Mary of Burgundy, of whose hand he had been formerly deprived by Maximilian. The projects of the French monarch upon Italy, however, inclined him to yield the Netherlands, and Max was speedily pacified. Peace was concluded at Senlis, in 1493, and Margaret was restored to her father. France also resigned all claims upon her stipulated dowry. Ghent, Bruges, and Ypern submitted and were pardoned; forty citizens of Bruges, who had most grievously insulted the royal person, being alone executed. On Maximilian's return to the Netherlands in 1493, Albert of Saxony led his two children to him at Maestricht, with these words, "God has granted me success, therefore I bring you these two children and an obedient land." Albert had vowed not to shave his chin until the Netherlands enjoyed the blessings of peace. During the festival at Maestricht, Margaret the elder, the widow of Charles the Bold, the grandmother to the two children, cut off a part of his beard, and he had the rest shaved off. Maximilian owed him a heavy debt of gratitude, for he had furnished the means for carrying on the war in the Netherlands from his private property, the mines in the snow mountains.

CXC. *Matthias of Hungary—Affairs in Italy—
Maximilian the First*

ON the death of George von Podiebrad, Matthias, king of Hungary, laid claim to Bohemia, but was solely able to hold Silesia, where he fixed his headquarters with his black guard, a picked troop of mercenaries. Casimir of Poland, and his son, Wladislaw of Bohemia, vainly attempted to dislodge him. The most terrible reprisals were taken on the unfortunate prisoners. John, duke of Sagan, also laid Glogau waste in 1488. Matthias, occupied with the west, neglected to defend his eastern frontiers against the Turks, who made numerous inroads into Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, whence they were sometimes repelled with great loss by the peasantry. These destructive inroads continued without intermission for upward of twenty years, from 1471 to 1493, during which these countries were laid waste, and numbers of the inhabitants carried away captive, without attracting the attention of the rest of Germany.

An alliance was formed, in 1482, between the emperor Frederick and Wladislaw of Bohemia, against their common foe, Matthias of Hungary, who was defeated near Bruck on the Leytra, but afterward regained strength and laid siege to Vienna, whose inhabitants vainly implored aid from the emperor, who replied to their entreaties, "You also allowed me to starve when I was besieged by you!" The city fell into the hands of Matthias in 1485. The emperor at length found a friend in Albert of Saxony, who, generously saying, "It is better for all the princes of Germany to be beggars than for the Roman king to want money!" furnished him with the necessary supplies from his mines, and defeated the superior Hungarian force at Negau in 1487. The return of Max from the Netherlands now compelled Albert to repair thither, while Max went to the Tyrol, where Sigmund had commenced a doubtful war with Venice, known as the Rovereiter war, which took its rise from a

frontier dispute between the Venetian inhabitants of Riva and the Tyrolean Count von Arco. Bombs were first used in the siege of Botzen by the Count von Metsch Roveredo. Sigmund, offering to yield, notwithstanding the unflinching courage of the Tyrolese, was deposed by the Estates, who provisionally elected Frederick Kappler as their captain, and, with a thousand men, completely routed the Venetians near Calliano. Their general, the famous Roberto di San Severino, was drowned in the Adige. The whole of the Tyrol hastened to pay homage to Max on his arrival, and he ever afterward clung with affection to this country, where he eternalized his memory; he used to say of it, "The Tyrol is only a coarse boor's frock, but it keeps one warm." On the death of Matthias (1490) he hastened to liberate Austria, took Vienna, where he received a wound in the shoulder, by storm, and penetrated into the heart of Hungary. Long Conrad, a Swabian in his army, boasted of having murdered three hundred persons with his own hand at the taking of Stuhl-Weissenburg. The blood stood half a hand high round the tomb of Matthias. The infantry collected so much booty that they abandoned their youthful commander and returned home. The Hungarians now elected Wladislaw of Bohemia king, and tranquillity was restored. Wladislaw bestowed great privileges and the right of being governed by a native stadtholder on Silesia, by the Colowrat treaty, which was chiefly managed by the Bohemian noble of that name.

War also broke out between the Swiss and the Milanese, who attempted to regain possession of the Livinenthal. The confederation took up arms, but again dispersed, on account of the severity of the winter. Six hundred men under Frischbhans Theiling of Lucerne alone kept the field, near Irnis (Giornico), against sixteen thousand Milanese under Count Borello. The advice of one of the peasants, named Stanga, to flood the country, was followed by his companions, and the whole of the valley was converted into one vast sheet of ice. The Milanese, on arriving at the spot,

found it impossible to keep their footing, and were speedily put into confusion and utterly defeated by the iron-shod Swiss, of whom notwithstanding their numerical inferiority two only were slain, one of whom was Stanga. Milan purchased peace in 1479.

Max had scarcely begun to regulate the affairs of Austria, when his aged father expired in 1493. No emperor had reigned so long and done so little as Frederick III. Max was proclaimed his successor on the imperial throne without a dissentient voice, and speedily found himself fully occupied.

France at that time cast her eyes upon Italy. Nepotism, the family-interest of the popes, who bestowed enormous wealth, and even Italian principalities, on their nephews, relatives, and natural children, was the prevalent spirit of the court of Rome. The pope's relations plundered the papal treasury, which he filled with the plunder of the whole of Christendom, by raising the church taxes, amplifying the ceremonies, and selling absolution. Alexander VI., who at that period occupied the pontifical throne, surpassed all his predecessors in wickedness. He died of poison, in 1503, laden with crimes. The royal house of Aragon again sat on the throne of Naples. In Upper Italy, besides the ancient republics of Venice and Genoa, and the principalities of Milan and Ferrara, Florence had become half a republic, half a principality, under the rule of the house of Medicis.

France, ever watchful, was not tardy in finding an opportunity for interference. In Milan, the young duke, Giovanni Galeazzo Sforza, had been murdered by his uncle Luigi, who seized the ducal throne. Ferdinand of Naples, Galeazzo's brother-in-law, declaring against the murderer, Luigi claimed the assistance of the French king, Charles VIII., who promised him his protection, and at the same time asserted his own claim to the Neapolitan throne as the descendant of the house of Anjou. In 1494, he unexpectedly entered Italy at the head of an immense army, partly

composed of Swiss mercenaries, and took Naples. Milan, alarmed at the overwhelming strength of her importunate ally, now entered into a league with the pope, the emperor, Spain, and Naples, for the purpose of driving him out of Italy, and Alexander VI. astonished the world by leaguering with the arch foe of Christendom, the Turkish sultan, against the "most Christian" king of France. Charles yielded to the storm, and voluntarily returned to France in 1495. Maximilian had been unable, from want of money, to come in person to Italy, and three thousand men were all he had been able to supply. He had, however, secured himself by a marriage with Bianca Maria, the sister of Galeazzo Sforza, and attempted, on the withdrawal of the French, to put forward his pretensions as emperor. Pisa, in 1496, imploring his aid against Florence, he undertook a campaign at the head of an inconsiderable force, in which he was unsuccessful, the Venetians refusing their promised aid. His marriage with Bianca, a woman of a haughty, cold disposition, unendowed with the mental and personal graces of Mary of Burgundy, was far from happy. Max had several illegitimate children, three sons, ecclesiastics, who died in obscurity, and five daughters.

A still closer alliance was formed with Spain, where the whole power had, as in France, centered in the monarch. The last descendants of the ancient petty kings of this country, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, had married, and by their united force had expelled the Moors in 1492; a year also famous for the discovery of America, whose mines so greatly enriched Spain, by Columbus the Genoese. The marriage of Philip, Maximilian's son, with the Infanta Johanna, and that of his daughter Margaret, with the Infante Don Juan, in 1496, brought this splendid monarchy into the house of Habsburg, the Infante Don Juan expiring shortly afterward, and the whole of Spain falling to Philip in right of his wife.

Maximilian was distinguished for personal bravery; his disposition was benevolent, cheerful, and enthusiastic; he

was of an active turn, well-informed, full of wit, spirit, and animation, the very reverse to his pedantic parent. He had, nevertheless, inherited a portion of his father's frivolity, his thoughts, like his actions, being totally deficient in greatness. Ever occupied, he never accomplished any really useful design; ever preserving the mien of a genial autocrat, he still permitted himself to be swayed by others. Machiavelli, the greatest politician of his time, says of him, "He believed that he did everything himself, and yet allowed himself to be misled from his first and best idea." He cherished all sorts of projects, which, when put into execution, turned out exactly contrary to his intention. He was, in reality, completely out of his element in the council and in the field; chivalric feats, in which he could display his personal courage and gallantry, were his delight, and for which he was best fitted by nature. His biography, written under his dictation, is merely an account of feats of this description. His condescending manners, although rendering him the darling of the people, greatly lessened his dignity, and was often unfitting to him as the emperor of the holy Roman empire, and drew upon him the mockery of his jester, Kunz von der Rosen. A diary, written by the emperor himself, has been preserved; it contains innumerable little hints, how a certain fish should be caught and cooked, such a weapon be fabricated, how much the castellan of a distant imperial castle should be paid, and many a scandalous anecdote—but not one word concerning the great questions of the day, the church and the state. His biography is that of an adventurous knight, not that of an emperor.

Maximilian ever intended well, and would sometimes kindle with the fire of the ancient Hohenstaufen when planning the execution of some great project. He fervently desired to march against the Turks, to reannex Italy to the empire, to chastise the insolence of France, in a word, to act as became a great German emperor; but he was a prisoner in the midst of the weapons of Germany, a beggar in the midst of her wealth; the vassals of the empire, sunk in

shameless egotism, coldly refused to assist their sovereign, and rendered him the laughing-stock of Europe.

Eberhard im Bart, count of Wurtemberg, a petty, but wise and influential prince, whose follies had been expiated by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, ever seconded the good intentions of the emperor, and aided in carrying several of his projects into execution. In 1477, Eberhard founded the university at Tubingen, whose most distinguished scholars were his friends. The emperor, sensible of his merit, raised him, in 1495, to the dignity of duke. On his first appearance after his elevation in the diet, a dispute arising concerning the seat that was his due, he declared his willingness to sit even behind the stove if the diet would only discuss and pass some useful resolution. One of the most essential services rendered by this duke was his attempt to restore peace and order to the whole empire, as well as to Wurtemberg. It was to him that the Swabian league chiefly owed its rise in 1488. This league was originally an aristocratic society, known as that of St. George's Shield, which, by the incorporation of the clergy and of the citizens within its ranks, became a general union of all the princes, counts, knights, bishops, abbots, and cities in Swabia for the maintenance of peace and right. At the diet held at Worms, Maximilian zealously labored to increase the external power of the empire by promoting its internal union, order, and peace, but only succeeded in rendering the confusion systematic, the absurdities, hitherto unrecognized by law, legal, and the external weakness and internal anarchy of the empire eternal. The empire was one confused mass of electorates, duchies, earldoms, bishoprics, abbeys, imperial free towns, and estates of the nobility, which, whether great or small, refused to yield to one another, and jealously asserted their independence. None possessed sufficient power to maintain order by force, or sufficient confidence to intrust that power to another. Order could therefore alone arise from the mutual necessity and voluntary alliance of all. The example given by the Swabian league was followed, and the whole empire

was divided into ten circles, each of which was to form a league similar to that of Swabia. These circles were, Swabia, Bavaria, Franconia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Austria, Burgundy, the Rhenish electorate, and Upper Saxony, without comprising Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, the Lausitz, and Prussia. As a point of union for all these circles, Maximilian demanded the establishment of a government, or imperial council, over which the emperor was to preside, and in whose hands the supreme power was to be lodged during his absence. This plan was never put into execution. An imperial chamber with salaried councilors, who took cognizance of legal matters, was alone established, but its decisions, owing to want of power, also remained without authority.

The regulation of the imperial revenue was rendered still more urgent by the fact, daily becoming more notorious, that money was power, that without that necessary article the emperor was powerless, and the necessity of a general imperial treasury wherewith to meet the general outlay was clearly visible. The greater portion of the revenue formerly enjoyed by the crown had been seized by the Estates. A new mode of taxation, as in France, was, consequently, necessary. The Estates, meanwhile, either refused to contribute or disputed the division of the contribution, and it was with great difficulty that Maximilian at length induced them to grant the common penny for four years, that is to say, the payment by every subject of the empire of one penny out of every thousand pence he possessed, thus a tenth per cent, toward the maintenance of the state. This tax was, however, notwithstanding its insignificant amount, seldom regularly paid, and the emperor was ever poverty-stricken. Another regulation, the establishment of the post for the purpose of facilitating communication, the management of which was intrusted to the Count von Thurn and Taxis, also failed on account of the bad state of the roads.

It is undeniable that by the federation of every class, the petty and great, the weak and strong, were alike represented

in the diet. The great dukes no longer ruled the whole assembly; the other princes of the empire besides the electors, the counts and other grades of nobility, the prelates, and, above all, the cities, asserted their authority, and by this means many a man and many an idea appeared in the diet, totally distinct from those appertaining to the court; but ideas however excellent, purposes however honest, whether harbored by the emperor or by the meanest of his subjects, were alike unavailing against the torrent of opposing interests. Hence the wearying prolixity of affairs. Seats and titles had to be contested before the real question could be investigated. Verbal proceedings were succeeded by endless written ones, so that before the representatives in the diet could lay the question in debate before their constituents, and then before the diet, the moment for action had generally passed. The interminable writing also introduced a crowd of lawyers, who explained everything according to the Roman law, and took advantage of the contradiction between the German and Roman jurisprudence to create such a chaotic state of confusion that people were no longer able to trust to their own senses, and were compelled to have recourse to the sophistry of a set of pettifogging pedants.

Instant aid was demanded against the Turks. But all the Estates, instead of granting aid, unanimously joined in complaining of the conduct of their sister Estates in Italy, Burgundy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, which separated themselves more and more from the empire, and no longer contributed their quota to the maintenance of the state. The nobility declined contributing in money, the cities refused to furnish men. After a long debate it was at length resolved to levy a tax of twenty-four thousand florins to defray the expense of defending the empire against the Turks. This sum, like the former ones granted, was never raised. When the emperor, in 1497, convoked the Estates to Lindau, in order to take measures against the French in Italy, they came unfurnished with troops and unsupplied with money.

CXCI. *Separation of Switzerland from the Empire—Wars of the Frisicians and Ditmarses—Civil Dissensions—The Bundschuh—Wars of Venice and Milan*

THE empire, like the oak whose topmost branches first show symptoms of the decay spreading from its roots, first lost the finest of her German provinces, and her holy banner was hurled from those glorious natural bulwarks, whence, mid ice and snow, our victorious forefathers had looked down upon the fertile vales of Italy. Unlike the defection of the Slavonians and Italians from the empire, that of the Swiss inflicted a heartfelt wound. Their desertion has been explained and justified by time, but how much nobler would it not have been had they at least attempted to remodel the empire, by creating an energetic interposition on the part of the people!

The Swiss confederation had been declared an integral part of the Swabian circle, but, influenced by distrust of the Swabian cities, which had ever preserved a false neutrality toward them, and of the princes and nobles, their hereditary foes, they refused to enter into the league. Their success against Burgundy had, moreover, rendered them insolent and presumptuous, while France incessantly incited them to declare themselves independent of the empire. France drew her mercenaries from the Alps, was a good paymaster, and flattered the rough mountaineers with a semblance of royal confidence; while the German princes, and even the emperor, thoughtlessly treated them with contempt. A dispute concerning landmarks that arose between the Grisons peasantry and the Austrian Tyrolese, and occasioned their enrollment in the confederation, brought the matter to an issue. The enraged emperor declared war, in 1498, against the Swiss, in which he was seconded by the Swabian league. In 1499, the Swiss concluded a treaty with France, and, quitting their mountains, attacked the approaching foe on every side. Willibald Pirckheimer, who was present with four hun-

dred red-habited citizens of Nuremberg, has graphically described every incident of this war. The imperial reinforcements arrived slowly and in separate bodies; the princes and nobles fighting in real earnest, the cities with little inclination. The Swiss were, consequently, able to defeat each single detachment before they could unite, and were in this manner victorious in ten engagements. The emperor, on his arrival, publicly addressed an angry letter to the Swiss from Freiburg in the Breisgau. The Tyrolese failed in an attempt to take the Grisons in the rear across Bormio, and four hundred of the imperialists were, on this occasion, crushed by an avalanche. Pirkheimer saw a troop of half-starved children under the care of two old women seeking for herbs, like cattle, on the mountains, so great was the distress to which the blockade had reduced the Swiss. They, nevertheless, defended themselves on every side, and slew four thousand Tyrolese near Mals in the Vienstgau, in revenge for which four hundred Grisons peasants, detained captive at Meran, were put to death. The emperor went to Constance, where a letter from the confederation was delivered to him by a young girl.¹ Peace was, however, far from the thoughts of the emperor, who, dividing his forces, dispatched the majority of his troops against Basel, under the Count von Furstenberg, while he advanced toward Geneva, and was occupied in crossing the lake when the news of Furstenberg's defeat and death, near Dornach, arrived. The princes, little desirous of staking their honor against their low-born opponents, instantly returned home in great numbers, and the emperor was therefore compelled to make peace. The Swiss retained possession of the Thurgau and of Basel, and Schaffhausen joined the confederation, which

¹ On being asked the number of the Swiss, she replied, "There are plenty to beat you; you might have counted them during the battle had not fear struck you blind"; and on an old soldier, stung by the sarcasm, drawing his sword upon her, she said, "if you are such a hero, seek men to fight with." Götz von Berlichingen, who was present, thus describes the emperor: "He wore a little old green coat and little short green cap, and a great green hat over it." (Quite Tyrolean.)

was not subject to the imperial chamber, and for the future belonged merely in name to the empire, and gradually fell under the growing influence of France, 1499.

Some years after the Swiss war, Maximilian was involved in a petty war of succession in Bavaria (1504). Disturbances had also arisen in the Netherlands in 1494, where the people favored Charles of Guelders to the prejudice of the Habsburg. Maximilian's son, Philip the Handsome, at length concluded a truce with his opponent, and went into Spain for the purpose of taking possession of the kingdom of Castile—whose queen, Isabella, had just expired—in the name of her daughter, his wife, Johanna. Ferdinand of Aragon, his father-in-law, however, refused to yield the throne of Castile during his lifetime, and, in his old age, married a young Frenchwoman, in the hope of raising another heir to the throne of Aragon. Johanna had been imprisoned during Philip's absence, by command of her cruel father, in Medina del Campo. Animated by a strong desire to rejoin her husband, whom she passionately loved, she placed herself under the gateway, whence she refused to move, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and remained there night and day until she was liberated. She was reported to her husband as crazed, but his messenger disproved the fact, and he rejoined her, but shortly afterward died, either of a sudden chill, or of poison, which Johanna was accused of having administered, but a heavier suspicion falls upon Ferdinand. Johanna refused to quit the body of her husband, which she constantly held in her embrace and watched over, taking it everywhere with her, so that, as had been once foretold to him, he wandered more about his Spanish kingdom after his death than during his lifetime.

She was at length persuaded to permit his interment; but the body had scarcely been removed ere she imagined herself at Medina del Campo, her beloved Philip in the Netherlands, and that she was not allowed to join him, and her attendants were compelled to beg of her to order the vault

to be reopened, in order to convince herself of his death; she did so, but had the coffin once more placed at her side. She then consoled herself with a nurse's tale of a dead king who, after a lapse of fourteen years, was restored to life, and with childish delight awaited the day. On finding her hopes disappointed she became incurably insane, and was put under restraint. She survived her husband fifty years.

Philip left two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. His sister, Margaret, became regent of the Netherlands, whence Albert, the brave duke of Saxony, had been expelled by Philip, and been degraded to a mere stadtholder of Western Friesland. Eastern Friesland was a prey to civil dissension, in 1454, and bravely defended itself against Oldenburg and Western Friesland until 1515, when it submitted to the emperor, and Henry of Nassau, who had wedded the heiress of the French house of Orange, and had taken that name, became stadtholder of Holland, where he acquired great popularity, in 1516.

The Ditmarses sustained a far more serious war with Denmark, which commenced in 1500. The invading army, thirty thousand strong, was completely cut to pieces, in 1511, by three hundred peasants. But their hour also came. Success had rendered them insolent, and civil dissensions breaking out among them, they fell under the rule of Frederick, king of Denmark, in 1559, who wisely endeavored to win them by exempting them from every war tax, by raising no fortresses in their country, and by leaving them to their own jurisdiction.

The tumults that continued to occur in the cities had no influence on the course of events, and merely merit notice as indications of the insolence resulting from prosperity. Quarrels broke out in the Hansa, which also withstood the repeated attacks of the neighboring powers. Most of the disturbances that took place within the cities arose from the discontent of the people, on account of the imposition of fresh taxes and the egotism of the municipal governments. The example of the Burgundian court had increased

the luxury and ostentation of the higher classes, and the maintenance of peace and order called for a greater outlay in the administration, and consequently caused the general imposition of taxes, dues, etc. These charges fell more heavily on the peasant than on the citizen, and occasioned continual disturbances. The first extensive conspiracy of the peasants was formed in 1498, at Schlettstadt, in Alsace. Their banner was the Bundschuh, a peasant's shoe stuck upon a stake, the symbol of the peasantry, as the boot was that of the knights. Their object was the abolition of the ecclesiastical and Roman courts of law, of the customs and enormous imposts. This conspiracy was discovered and put down by force, but appeared again at different periods under various names. The most violent demonstration of this description was made (1514) in the Remsthal, simultaneously with the fearful revolt of the peasants in Hungary. Both had a sanguinary close.

Charles had been succeeded on the throne of France by Louis XII., who renewed the projects upon Italy, and maintained his claims upon Milan in right of his grandmother, a Visconti. Venice, ever at strife with that city, gladly favored his pretensions; and the pope, Alexander VI., in the hope of gaining by his means an Italian throne for his son, the notorious Cesare Borgia, also sided with him. Louis invaded Italy in 1500, and took possession of Milan. Sforza taking eight thousand Swiss mercenaries into his service, and regaining his duchy, Louis also turned to them for aid, and, strengthened by a body of ten thousand of these troops, shut up Sforza in Novara. The Swiss, however, refusing to fight against each other, Sforza's mercenaries were permitted to march unmolested out of the city. The duke, disguised as one of the number, quitted the place with them, but was sold by a man of Uri, named Turmann, to the French monarch, who sent him prisoner to France. The confederation sentenced the traitor to execution, but the good name of the Swiss had suffered an irreparable injury, not only by this incident, but by their mercenary habits. Anshelm, the his-

torian, observes that they returned to their mountains laden with booty and covered with disgrace.

Maximilian beheld the successes of the French monarch in Italy, and Ferdinand of Naples dragged in chains to France, with impotent rage, and convoked one diet after another without being able to raise either money or troops. At length, in the hope of saving his honor, he invested France with the duchy of his brother-in-law, Sforza, and, by the treaty of Blois, in 1504, ceded Milan to France for the sum of two hundred thousand francs. The marriage of Charles, Maximilian's grandson, with Claudia, the daughter of Louis, who it was stipulated should bring Milan in dowry to the house of Habsburg, also formed one of the articles of this treaty, and in the event of any impediment to the marriage being raised by France, Milan was to be unconditionally restored to the house of Austria. The marriage of the Archduke Ferdinand with Anna, the youthful daughter of Wladislaw of Hungary and Bohemia, was more fortunate. Ferdinand of Spain, unable to tolerate the Habsburg as his successor on the throne, entered into a league with France, who instantly infringed the treaty of Blois, and Claudia was married to Francis of Anjou, the heir-apparent to the throne of France. Maximilian, enraged at Louis's perfidy, vainly called upon the imperial Estates of Germany to revenge the insult; he was merely enabled to raise a small body of troops, with which he crossed the Alps for the purpose of taking possession of Milan and of being finally crowned by the pope. The Venetians, however, refused to grant him a free passage, defeated him at Catorà, and compelled him to retrace his steps. At Trient, Matthæus Lang, archbishop of Salzburg, placed the crown on his brow in the name of the pope, 1508. The Venetians, inspired by success, followed up their victory by the reduction of Trieste and Fiume; and a great revolt of the people in Genoa, who favored the imperial cause, against the aristocracy, the partisans of France, was suppressed by the Swiss mercenaries in Louis's pay. The confederation, overwhelmed with reproaches and moved to

shame by the earnest appeal of the emperor to their honor as Germans, sent ambassadors to Constance, to lay excuses for their conduct before the emperor, but the reconciliation that ensued was speedily forgotten on the unexpected annunciation of the alliance of the emperor with France.

The insolence and grasping policy of Venice had rendered her universally obnoxious. Maximilian had been insulted and robbed by her; Louis dreaded her vicinity to his newly-gained duchy of Milan; while Ferdinand, the pope, and the rest of the Italian powers, viewed her with similar enmity. These considerations formed the basis of the league of Cambray in 1508, in which all the contending parties ceased their strife to unite against their common foe. The French gained a decisive victory at Aguadello. Vicenza was taken by the imperial troops in 1510. The Swiss, who had at first aided Venice, being forced to retreat during the severe winter of 1512, revenged themselves by laying Lombardy waste. Venice, deprived of their aid, humbled herself before the emperor, and the senator Giustiniani fell in the name of the republic at his feet and finally persuaded both him and the pope to renounce their alliance with France. The new confederates were, however, defeated at Ravenna by the French under Gaston de Foix. The Swiss confederation, gained over by the bishop of Sion, who was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, now took part with the emperor and the pope, and, marching into Lombardy, drove out the French and placed Max Sforza on the ducal throne of Milan (1512). The subsequent tyranny and insubordination of the Swiss in Lombardy, and the great preparations for war made by France, induced Venice, ever watchful over her interests, again to enter into alliance with that country. The fresh invasion of Lombardy in 1513, by the French under Latremouille, and the German lancers of Robert von der Mark, terminated disastrously to the invaders, and the Swiss, after plundering Lombardy, united with a small body of imperialists under Ulric, duke of Wurtemberg, and, penetrating into France as far as Dijon, made the king tremble on

his throne. Their departure was purchased at an enormous price.

The emperor, although unable to offer much opposition to France in Italy, was more successful in the Netherlands, where, aided by the English, he carried on war against Louis and gained a second battle of spurs at Teroanne.¹ He also assembled a troop of lancers under George von Frundsberg, who besieged Venice, and fought his way through an overwhelming force under the Venetian general, Alviano, at Ceratia.—On the death of Louis, in 1515, fortune once more favored France. Francis I., immediately after his accession to the throne, invaded Italy in person, at the head of an immense force, among which were six thousand (Germans) of the black band, so called from their harness, under Robert von der Mark, and twenty thousand under the duke of Guelders. By a shameful treaty at Galera, the Swiss agreed to deliver up to him the city of Milan for three hundred thousand French crown dollars, and the small Swiss force still defending that duchy was, consequently, recalled. The Bernese obeyed, but the Zurichers and the peasantry of the four cantons preferred annihilation to dishonor, and stood their ground. The battle of Marignano, between the Swiss and the French, took place on the 14th of September, 1515. Schinner, the cardinal-bishop of Sion, mounted on horseback and arrayed in his purple robes, headed the confederation. This engagement lasted a day and a half, and the victory was at length decided by the arrival of the Venetians, who fell upon the rear of the Swiss. Zwingli of Zurich, who shortly afterward appeared as the great reformer, was also in this battle. The confederated Swiss, notwithstanding their enormous number of killed and wounded, made an orderly and honorable retreat, but were reproached on their return home for having broken the treaty of Galera. The

¹ Peter Daniel says, in his History of France, "because our cavalry made more use of their spurs than of their swords." The Chevalier Bayard, on perceiving the impossibility of escape, took an English knight, who had just dismounted, prisoner, in order instantly to surrender himself to him. Maximilian, on being informed of this strange adventure, restored Bayard to liberty.

French party triumphed. Domo d'Ossola was delivered up to them by the Bernese governor. Francis unsparingly showered gold upon the confederation, and, in 1516, Berne, Lucerne, Unterwalden, Zug, Glarus, Fryburg, Solothurn, and Appenzell concluded the so-called "eternal alliance" with France. Zurich, Uri, Schwyz, and Basel alone disdained this disgraceful traffic in blood. Frundsberg, left unaided in Italy, was shut up in Verona by the French, where, in spite of famine and pestilence, he bravely held out until relieved by a small force under Rogendorf. Maximilian entered Lombardy in person in 1516, with twenty thousand men, ten thousand of whom were Swiss, under the loyal-hearted Stapfer of Zurich, but was compelled to retreat, owing to want of money, and the superior numbers of Swiss in the service of France. Unable to save Milan, he made a virtue of necessity and ceded that duchy to Francis. In his old age, he zealously endeavored to raise means for carrying on the war against the Turks, but the princes refused their aid, and the first symptoms of the Reformation began to stir among the people. "Let us march," wrote Ulric von Hutten, "not against the Turk, but against the pope!"

PART XVI

THE REFORMATION

CXCII. *The Church—The Humanists—The Art of Printing—Luther*

THE self-subjugation of Bohemia and the Vienna concordat had effectually checked every demand for reformation in the church, and Rome once more breathed freely. The people were reduced to silence, and the popes redoubled their pretensions and more shamelessly exhibited their vices. After Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) had proved to the world that disloyalty was the best recommendation to the pontifical throne, Paul II. demonstrated, by his all-despising brutality, splendor and arrogance, that he could still further abuse the victory gained by his predecessor, and by his fury against the Bohemians the implacability of the despotism self-denominated the loving mother of all the nations of the earth. Sixtus IV. bestowed the fiendish institution of the Inquisition on Spain, and public brothels on Rome. Innocent VIII. enriched his sixteen illegitimate children from the treasury of St. Peter, replenished by the offerings of the faithful, and publicly declared that "God, instead of desiring the punishment of sinners, only called upon them to pay for their sins." Alexander VI., whose horrid crimes have been recorded by his master of the ceremonies, John Burkhard of Strasburg, surpassed all his predecessors in profligacy. His daughter, the infamous Lucretia Borgia, was termed "Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus." Stained with blood, unnatural crime, intemperance, and treachery toward both friend and foe, this monster at length

fell a victim to the poisoned cup prepared by him for his cardinals. Julius II. concealed similar crimes beneath his love of war, which, although totally opposed to his destiny as the shepherd of souls, was nevertheless tolerated in that chivalric age. Leo X., who closes the line of popes immediately anterior to the Reformation, was free from personal vices, but was a mere child of fortune. By the interest of his powerful family, that of Medicis, he was created cardinal at the age of thirteen, and became pope at thirty-seven. Accustomed to pomp from his childhood, he surpassed all his predecessors in splendor and luxury, and was, on this account, besides his patronage of art and his revival of those of ancient Greece and Rome, termed "the heathen pope." Whatever praise may be his due as a patron of modern and ancient art, the mind turns with disgust from the anomaly presented by a pope surrounded with heathen divinities and licentious forms. The immense sums necessary for the erection of the gigantic church of St. Peter, raised by him in commemoration of himself, and for his other extravagances, were drained from the different nations of Europe, more especially from the Germans. All the ecclesiastical benefices, property, and revenues had long been in the power of the pope, which no bishop nor council now ventured to oppose, but, as the riches of the church were insufficient, fresh and novel taxes were imposed upon the laity. Church penances were multiplied. Since the cessation of the crusades, the popes had decreed that whoever made a pilgrimage to Rome and laid an offering on St. Peter's shrine should receive as plenary remission for his sins as if he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The jubilee was at first to be solemnized every hundred years, which, on its being found so productive, was decreased to fifty, then to thirty-three, and finally to twenty-five. Countless multitudes visited Rome and poured millions into the papal treasury; but as the whole of the faithful children of the church were unable to make the desired pilgrimage, the pope considerably furnished them with the means of purchasing absolution, by fabricating a

paper-currency issued by heaven, but cashed upon earth. These indulgences, which fixed beforehand the price for each imaginable sin, and secured the salvation of the purchaser, were publicly offered for sale throughout Europe.

The popes no less desecrated their sacred office by the zeal with which they emulated the sovereigns of France in the art of political perfidy, of diplomatic falsehood, of insidious treaties, of treachery toward their allies, and of systematic tyranny, of fraudulent or violent suppression of ancient popular liberty. Political craft was, it is true, also practiced by the potentates of Germany; the emperor, Charles IV., was, nevertheless, owing to the lessons he had been taught during his youth at Avignon, the only perfect adept in the art, the rough honesty of the German character ever displaying itself in the actions, whether good or evil, of the princes of the empire. In France and Italy deceit was, on the contrary, the guiding maxim in diplomacy, the spirit of which has been faithfully portrayed by Machiavelli in his work, "*The Prince*," whose political object is unlimited despotism, whose means are soldiers for conquest and oppression, money for raising an army and for bribing opponents, assassination, treachery, falsehood, for getting rid of a rival or for deceiving him, diplomatic spies in the person of ambassadors at the courts of brother monarchs (the papal legates were patterns for ambassadors of this description), and the promotion of popular ignorance by the diffusion of superstitious doctrines, least believed by those who taught them.

The depravity of the church was the inevitable result of the enormous multitude of idlers and hypocrites fostered in her bosom. The bishoprics had, generally speaking, gradually become sinecures for princes and counts, and the canonries were, consequently, as was the case at Strasburg, usually bestowed upon nobles of high birth, who revelled in wanton luxury. Men of talent could alone attain distinction in the service of the pope. The priests were proverbially ignorant¹

¹ The anecdote of the priest, who, having once heard the expression, "*St. Benedictus benedicat*," ignorantly said, "*St. Bernhardus bernhardat*," had long been a popular jest.

and brutal, and their ignorance was ~~sc~~untenanced by the popes, who expressly decreed that out of ten ecclesiastics one alone was to study. Their morals were as depraved as their minds were besotted. Celibacy was eluded by the maintenance of housekeepers, and drunkenness was a clerical vice commonly alluded to in the satires of the day. Wealthy priests had poor vicars, travelling students, in their pay, who preached for them, and the hopes of these hirelings, who bore the whole burden of the office for the merest pittance, may be easily conceived, on the outburst of the Reformation. Most of the travelling preachers belonged to this class. The most horrid disorder prevailed in the monasteries and convents. It was proverbially said in reference to the triple vow, "the monks are only poor in the bath, obedient at table, and chaste at the altar," and also, "the abbots have, by means of their poverty, become the wealthiest proprietors, by means of their obedience, mighty potentates, by means of their chastity, the husbands of all the women." The princely abbots of St. Gall, Fulda, etc., who had a seat in the diet, were in fact powerful and real princes. The nuns were not much better than the monks, who, John von Goeh said at Mechlin, "did what the devil was ashamed to think!" Scholasticism had introduced fresh symbols into religion. The Virgin had become an object of deeper devotion than either God or the Saviour, and the people were habituated to gross and obscene representations. The veneration paid to relics was rendered ridiculous by the practice of deceit and the fabrication of substitutes. The saints had generally three or four different bodies, and innumerable limbs, all of which were declared genuine; there was a chemise, belonging to the holy Virgin six feet in length; the drum on which the march was beaten when the Jews crossed the Red Sea dry-shod; hay from the manger; a piece of the head of Tobias's fish, etc., etc.; added to which were the coarse buffooneries enacted in the churches, partly by the priests in self-mockery, the shameless burlesque sermons, the fools' and asses' festivals, and other spectacles of

a similar description. The sale of indulgences was, however, more revolting than all; it was intrusted by the pope to the begging monks on account of their intercourse with the people, and the matter became a complete quackery. Tetzl, the best known of these dealers in absolution on account of his having been the first who was attacked, carried about a picture of the devil tormenting poor souls in hell, and wrote on his money-box,

"As the money in you pop,
The souls from purgatory hop."

The indulgence was at that period generally termed "The Roman pardon," and was purchased more from fear than stupidity. The emperor Wenzel and Hieronymus of Prague were not solitary in their disapprobation, numbers regarding it as an obnoxious tribute to Rome, and fear alone rendering the popular discontent inaudible. It was, nevertheless, manifested in an imperial decree of 1500, which declared that a third of the immense sums raised by the sale of indulgences should alone be granted to the pope, and that the remaining two-thirds should be applied by the government for the defence of the empire against the Turks; but no one, except Wimpfeling—who presented a work of his composition to the emperor Maximilian during the diet held at Augsburg 1510, in which he said, "that the church was intrusted to people who knew better how to drive mules than to guide men, and that Germany wasted money on the foreigner that she required for herself"—ventured to protest against this system of speculation.

The old German universities, and those that had arisen since the abandonment of that of Prague by the German professors and students, were peopled with the most decided foes to the Bohemian cause, and their doctors had been Huss's most virulent antagonists in the council of Constance. Every species of nonsense was at this period capable of being proved sense by means of scholastic logic. Learning, however, speedily revenged herself on her unworthy professors.

The solemn fools pretending to the title of professors and doctors were too idle to learn even ordinary Latin, and men of superior intellect gradually succeeded, under the unsuspecting pretext of improving the languages in the universities, in elevating their tone. A school, in which genuine piety went hand in hand with enlightenment, had formed in obscurity, independent of the universities. It was founded at Deventer, in the fourteenth century, by Gerard de Groote, under the form of a monical community, which bore the simple title of "Brethren of common life." This school sent forth Ruysbroek, who founded a learned university in Gr nthal, near Cambray. The younger generation of students attained still greater distinction by the study of the dead languages, by means of which they obtained admission into the universities, and strongly opposed scholasticism. The new study of the dead languages was termed "*Humaniora*," on account of the historical æsthetic philosophy introduced by its means in opposition to that purely theological. The church at first took no offense at this innovation, the Humanists merely improving the church Latin, while the study of the ancient heathen writers was simply regarded as an amusement likely to wean men from the practice of the strict morality inculcated by the Reformers. The pure study of the classics was especially promoted in Heidelberg and Erfurt by Lange, but its greatest patrons were, at the end of the fifteenth century, Erasmus of Rotterdam at Basel, and Reuchlin of Pforzheim in T bingen, the former of whom possessed all the subtlety, the latter all the solid learning, requisite for deep investigation.¹ The study of Hebrew in addition to Greek and Latin, however, roused the suspicion of the church, which feared lest the study of the Bible text might render the infallibility of the papal ordinances doubtful, and, in 1479, Burchard of Oberwesel was condemned

¹ Erasmus was reputed the greatest scholar in the world. A statue was erected to his memory by his fellow-citizens at Rotterdam, where it is still to be seen. It was asserted in the popular superstition of the day that from time to time he turned over a leaf of the book he is represented holding in his hand, and that when the last leaf shall turn over the world will be at an end.

to perpetual imprisonment for venturing to assert that the Bible ought to be read in Hebrew. An attempt made to burn all Hebrew books was controverted by Reuchlin, who said "that it would certainly do no harm to destroy some irrational books of the Jewish Talmud, but that whatever was good in Hebrew ought to be perused like everything that was good in other languages." To the great vexation of the opposite party, Leo X., who patronized learning, was of a similar opinion.

The art of printing was invented in the first half of the fifteenth century. The first step to it was the art of carving on wood; pictures of saints, cards for playing, elementary school-books, had been printed from wooden tablets. This art was greatly practiced at Haarlem. The art of printing with movable letters was first invented by John Gutenberg at Mayence; was improved upon by John Fust, with whom Gutenberg, on account of his poverty, entered into partnership; and still further perfected by Peter Schœffer. Before the time of Luther the Bible had already been translated and printed in both High and Low Dutch, and the comparison between the overdrawn ordinances of the church and the simple gospel was thus greatly facilitated. The press quickly became the organ of controversy, and the empire was ere long inundated with works for and against the Humanists. The celebrated Erasmus, without deviating from the dogmas of the church, taught the students to read the Bible in the original text and to investigate its meaning, while his Latin satirical poems, the wittiest of those times, spread throughout civilized Europe, and accustomed the reader to laugh at many things hitherto viewed with reverential awe.¹ The increasing diffusion of satirical works first demonstrated the power of the weapon placed by Gutenberg in the hands of the people. The monks perceived their danger, and, as the untaught people were unable to read or write, and books,

¹ Erasmus was, in 1510, invited to England by Henry VIII., wrote his "Praise of Folly" while residing with Sir Thomas More, and was appointed Margaret professor of divinity and Greek lecturer at Cambridge.—*Trans.*

consequently, fell merely into the hands of the 'literati and the small educated portion of the nobility and citizens, they sought to prejudice the people against this novel invention by ascribing it to the devil, and hence arose the story of Dr. Faust, in whose name that of Fust the printer at Mayence is easily recognizable. Berthold, archbishop of Mayence, first introduced the censorship and prohibited printed books.

Humanism was greatly promoted by the foundation of the university at Wittenberg, in 1502, by the elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise. Reuchlin sent thither young Philip Melancthon (Schwarzerde, black earth), who possessed both his solid acquirements and the subtle penetration of Erasmus, and greatly surpassed them both in zeal for truth. This university was opposed, in 1506, by another founded by Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, at Frankfort on the Oder, with a papal tendency.

The discovery of the passage to the East Indies and to America opened a fresh field for investigation, and also greatly contributed to the enlightenment of the age, before which scholastic sophistry could no longer stand. Still, notwithstanding the advance in the learning of the age, the people, far removed from its influence, remained in a state of mental darkness, and the scholars of the day, liberal-minded as they frequently were, either wanted the power or the courage to speak openly and freely. The veneration and awe generally inspired by the authority of the pope restrained the discontented, until a man, belonging to the lower classes, gave the example, and animated even princes in the cause. Martin Luther, the son of a poor miner in Saxony, an Augustin monk, Doctor and Professor of Theology at the new university of Wittenberg, a fiery and daring spirit, a hero in the garb of a monk, resolved, alone and fearlessly, to promulgate the convictions common to him and to many others. Unconscious of his high destiny, and as yet totally devoid of ambition, his first actions were solely inspired by wrath on seeing the shameless conduct of John Tetzel, the retailer of indulgences in Saxony.

Luther was born at Eisleben, and lived for some time with his parents at Moera, near Schmalkald; on the improvement in their circumstances, consequent on his father being taken into the service of Count von Mansfeld, he was sent to the academies, and at first devoted himself to the study of jurisprudence at Erfurt, which he abandoned for that of theology on the death of his friend Alexius, who was struck with lightning when at his side. He afterward entered the order of St. Augustin, a branch of Franciscans, whose strict morality and learning strongly contrasted with the license, ignorance, and perverting sophistry of the other monastic orders. In 1509, Luther visited Rome on business relating to his order, and took up his abode outside the Porta del Popolo, in the little monastery that is still to be seen there. On his return, in 1512, he was appointed doctor at Wittenberg, and, in 1516, published the "German Theology," a work written in the simple, severe style of the best mystics, among whom he sought shelter and encouragement against the scholastics. As yet he had neither joined the witty and learned Humanists, nor did his inclinations sympathize with theirs; he attacked the follies and depravity of the age, not with satire and irony, but with the earnest gravity of a mystic monk, a stranger to the world. He acted with perfect independence, to the astonishment of both his antagonists and his friends.

On October 31, 1517, Luther publicly brought forward in the castle-church at Wittenberg ninety-five Theses against the indulgence, the principal of which were, "that by sincere repentance and penance alone, not by the payment of a sum of money, could sins be remitted, and, consequently, that the pope had no right to dispense absolution for money; moreover, that the pope, being merely the vicegerent of God upon earth, could only remit the external penances ordained by the church on earth, not the eternal punishment awarded to the sinner after death." This bold assertion, like a spark of vivid light amid profound darkness, rendered the truth fully visible, and thousands, once the spell of silence broken,

ventured to utter their secret thoughts; thousands became clearly aware of facts of which they had before timidly doubted. The whole of Germany and Europe was inundated with copies of the Theses, and unanimously showered applause upon the bold monk. The ancient church, undermined by advancing knowledge and her own depravity, tottered to the base. The excitement caused by these Theses was so great that Tetzl found himself forced to attempt a defence, which, however, merely consisted of coarse abuse of his antagonist, and a haughty appeal to the authority of the pope. Prierias, Hochstraaten, and Eck wrote in a similar spirit. At Rome, the affair was merely viewed as a monkish dispute, and the Cardinal Thomas of Gaeta (Cajetan), the general of the Dominicans, was commissioned to examine into it. The old emperor, Maximilian, had, exactly at that period, 1518, opened a diet at Augsburg, at which several of the princes and cities complained of the sale of indulgences and of other ecclesiastical disorders, and the emperor, deeming it politic to make use of Luther as a means of humbling the pontiff, and of compelling him to retract some of his inordinate demands, refused to deliver him up, although he had been cited to appear at Rome, and, on the conclusion of the diet, a discussion took place between Luther and Cajetan at Augsburg. It was in vain that the cardinal demanded unconditional recantation; Luther was firm, and Cajetan at last terminated the discussion by saying, "I will no longer talk to this beast; he is deep-sighted, and has wonderful ideas." Luther appealed "from the ill-informed pope to those better informed," and, besides maintaining his Theses, increased the boldness of his scrutiny and of his words as his antagonists augmented, and turned the arguments they brought forward in defense of the papal ordinances against themselves. The politics of the day also momentarily insured his personal safety, and allowed time for his friends to assemble before his enemies could take any decisive step against him. The pope and all the temporal princes were at that period deeply interested in the election

of a successor to Maximilian, who, on the close of the diet, and after assisting at the marriage of Albert Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg, with Susanna of Bavaria, had quitted Augsburg for Innsbruck, where the citizens, enraged at the licentious conduct of his officers, closed the gates against him and compelled him to remain during the whole of the wintry night, January, 1519, in his carriage in the open street. Mortification and chill brought on a fever, and he expired at Wels on his way to Vienna.

Frederick of Saxony became regent of the empire; by many he was even destined for the throne; at all events his vote at the election was of great weight, and the pope consequently presented him with a golden rose and acted with extraordinary lenity toward Luther, between whom, his friends Melancthon and Carlstadt on one side, and the terrible dialectic Eck on the other, a religious discussion took place at Leipzig. Luther, powerful in body and mind, spoke with manly, clear precision; Carlstadt, a diminutive, dark man, with bitterness and heat; while Melancthon, with his pale countenance, slight and drooping form, impressive tones, and deep learning, breathed gentle persuasion; but Eck, overpowering in person as in lungs, drowned their voices, and with great acuteness pointed out the contradictions inseparable from the Protestantism of later days. This discussion, like its predecessors, was merely productive of increased hatred.

Luther's partisans, meanwhile, increased in number and courage. The Bohemians wrote to him with great delight; the Humanists also declared in his favor; Ulric von Hutten addressed to him a letter with the superscription, "Awake, noble freedom"; and Franz von Sickingen offered him shelter and protection, in case of necessity, in his hidden castles, but Luther's hopes were centered in Charles V., the youthful grandson of the late emperor, who had just been proclaimed his successor, aided by whom the reformation of the church would be secured. With this intention he addressed to him a letter of admonition, but full of reverence and suited

to the spirit of the age, which the imperious youth, confident of the infallibility of his commanding genius, and blind to the exigencies of the times, did not comprehend, and treated with disdain.

Inspired by public sympathy, Luther gave to the world his two celebrated works, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," and, "Of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church," the boldest that had yet appeared. The words of the hero of Wittenberg struck dumb his antagonists and confirmed the wavering. He addressed the pope, the emperor, the aristocracy, the people, reminding them of the duty they had to perform in these agitated times, and requiring each to aid in placing Christianity and the German empire on a firmer basis. He wrote in Latin to potentates and savants, in German to the people, and his enthusiasm suddenly raised that language, which had deteriorated since the Swabian period, and laid the foundation to the High German of more modern times. His introduction of a German in the place of the Latin liturgy, until now used, of German psalm singing in churches, and his abolition of the Latin service, were justly considered as some of the most essential reforms.

Rome now lamented her tardiness, and the pope, at the urgent request of the German theologians, who saw the danger close at hand, published, in the beginning of 1520, the bull "Exurge Domine," in which Luther's doctrines were condemned. Cardinal Aleander carried the bull to Germany, where his life was endangered by the almost universal popularity of the bold Reformer, who now solemnly renounced all obedience to the pope and to the ancient church. Convoking the professors and students of Wittenberg before the Elsterthor, he publicly delivered the papal bull and the books of the canonical law to the flames, December 11, 1520; the elector not only countenancing this proceeding, but also blaming Aleander for having promulgated the papal bull in Germany without his knowledge, and declaring the papal bull unjust, and that the pope, by listening to Luther's personal enemy, Dr. Eck, had forgot-

ten his duty as a judge by not hearing the opposite side, and by needlessly agitating the people. Shortly after this, on Christmas day, Carlstadt, publicly and unopposed, administered the sacrament in both forms, giving the cup to the laity after the manner of the Hussites.

CXCIII. *Charles the Fifth—The Diet at Worms—Thomas Münzer—Zwingli—Pope Adrian—Internal Feuds*

WHILE the people were thus busied with the Reformation, the attention of the princes was wholly bestowed on the election of a successor to the throne, on which the balance of power in Europe depended.

The house of Habsburg had become the most powerful in Europe. Maximilian died in 1519; his only son, Philip, in 1506, leaving two sons, Charles and Ferdinand, to the elder of whom fell all the Habsburg possessions, and, on the demise of Ferdinand the Catholic, the whole of Spain and Naples, together with the late Spanish conquests in America. This monarch boasted that the sun never set on his dominions. A Persian ambassador addressed him as "the monarch protected by the sun." He also bore two globes in his escutcheon. Although naturally desirous of wearing the imperial crown on the death of his grandfather, he had, notwithstanding his youth, the ability to perceive that his election would rouse the fear and jealousy of the other potentates of Europe, and cautiously to veil his ambitious project of gaining the supremacy in Europe. His motto was "nondum." Francis I., who had reaped laurels while Charles was yet a boy, his equal in ambition, but his inferior in intellect and power, at first boldly confronted him in the lists, and competed for the imperial throne. Had the crown of Germany been placed on his brow, the power of the Habsburg would have found an equipoise; his ill success, on the contrary, placed him, as if in a giant's grasp, between Germany and Spain, and limited him to a mere defensive policy.

Each of the competitors sought to incline the election in his favor, and, as the issue was doubtful, to secure himself in case of ill success. The pope dreaded Charles's supremacy and opposed him, at the same time carefully guarding against converting him into an enemy, while the electoral princes dreaded the power of both of the aspirants and offered the crown to Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, who, conscious that the little power possessed by his house would incapacitate him from acting with the energy requisite on the throne, steadily refuse it. Francis was upheld by the dukes of Wurtemberg, Brunswick, Guelders, and Mecklenburg, and for a short time by the celebrated knight Franz von Sickingen. His partisans, bribed by promises and gold, however, merely injured his cause. The traitors were viewed with universal abhorrence, and Francis being rejected on the grounds of his not being a German, the choice consequently fell upon Charles, who accorded a capitulation to the princes, by which they carefully guarded their rights (1519). He left Spain for Germany in 1521.

A great diet, to which all the princes and estates of the empire flocked, was convoked at Worms, for the purpose of receiving the emperor, of regulating the affairs of the empire, but principally for that of deciding the Lutheran controversy. The dignified demeanor, gravity, gentleness, and condescending manners of the youthful emperor inspired the assembly with reverence. The dislike of the Spaniards to their German ruler, and the inimical preparations of his unsuccessful rival, Francis I., rendered the confidence of the Germans and the maintenance of peace and unity throughout the empire important; the new religious controversy was, consequently, obnoxious to Charles, who, perceiving the indifference felt toward it by the princes of the empire, deemed it a heresy easy to suppress, and as offering a means of winning over the pope. So blind was this emperor, talented in other respects, to the tendency of the age. Recent events alone might have proved to him that the Reformation was inevitable, and if, instead of aiding the pope,

he had placed himself at its head, it might have been preserved from the errors produced by partiality, have been carried through with power and moderation, and have attained its aim without terminating in a schism.

Charles, anxious to retain the friendship of the elector of Saxony, imagined that the Lutheran question might be quietly set aside, and that the insignificant monk would seek to shelter himself in obscurity from the proud imperial assembly at Worms, before which he was cited to appear. Luther's friends, alarmed for his safety, vainly advised him not to appear. On his arrival at Worms, two thousand people collected and accompanied him to his lodging. He was summoned before the council, April 18, 1521. His demeanor as he confronted this imposing assembly was dignified and calm. On being commanded to retract the charges he had made against the church, he addressed them at great length in German, and, at the emperor's request, repeated all he had said in Latin, openly declaring that he should be guilty of the deepest sin were he to recant, as he should thereby strengthen and increase the evil he opposed, and urgently demanding to be refuted before being condemned. This was refused. The emperor, impatient for the termination of the affair, insisted on a simple recantation, which Luther steadily rejected. The manly courage with which he spoke was beheld with admiration by the princes, and with delight by the German nobility, and it was rumored that four hundred of their number had sworn to defend him at all hazards; papers were even found on which the significative word "*Bundschuh*" was inscribed.

Luther was now put out of the ban of the empire, but the emperor, who, in after years, bitterly lamented his not having got rid of him by condemning him to the stake, pacified the people by a solemn assurance of the inviolability of the safe-conduct granted to him, observing, that "if truth and faith abode nowhere else they ought ever to find a refuge in the courts of princes." Luther returned home, but was on his way carried off by a troop of horsemen to the

Wartburg, where, safe from the artifices of his enemies, he remained in concealment under the protection of his friend and patron, Frederick of Saxony.

The emperor, after forming a new government, in which the elector of Saxony had great influence, returned to Spain, leaving his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, in possession of Wurtemberg and of his more ancient hereditary possessions in Germany.

Luther's party had already acquired such strength that his works were even published at Worms, during the emperor's stay. His friends, although imagining him lost, zealously followed in his steps, but the want of a leader and the indecision that prevailed in the exposition of the new doctrines produced, like the rising storm as it beats the surface of the ocean, a confused murmur throughout Germany. The literati endeavored to render the new Lutheran doctrines clear to the dull comprehension of the people. Melancthon drew up the principal articles of the Christian doctrine (the *loci communes*), which greatly contributed to the harmony of the party, and formed the groundwork of their system. Ulric von Hutten continued his attacks upon the pope. Luther, nevertheless, in his retirement in the Wartburg, where he was known as the Chevalier George, and amused himself sometimes by hunting in the neighborhood, far more aided his cause by the translation of the Bible into German, which, besides rendering the Scriptures accessible to men of every grade, greatly improved the language, and laid the foundation to the whole of High German literature.

The illiterate and the enthusiastic, however, far outstripped Luther in their ideas; instead of reforming they wished to annihilate the church, and to grasp political as well as religious liberty, and it was justly feared lest these excesses might furnish Rome with a pretext for rejecting every species of reform. "Luther," wrote their leader, Thomas Munzer, "merely draws the word of God from books, and twists the dead letters." Nicolas Storeh, Munzer's first teacher, a clothier, who surrounded himself with

twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples, boasted of receiving revelations from an angel. Their rejection of infant baptism and sole recognition of that of adults as efficacious, gained for them the appellation of Anabaptists. Carlstadt joined this sect, and followed the example already given by Bartholomew Bernhardi, a priest, one of Luther's disciples, who had married. The disorder occasioned by Carlstadt, who, at the head of a small number of adherents, destroyed the images and ornaments in the churches, forced Luther, who, regarding himself as the soldier of God fighting against the power of Satan upon earth, saw the works of the devil not so much in the actions of his enemies as in those of his false friends and of those who gave way to exaggerated enthusiasm, to quit his retreat, and, in 1522, he returned to Wittenberg, where he preached for eight days, and at length succeeded in quelling the disturbance. The moderate party regained its former power. Luther continued to guide the Reformation. His influence over the people and his moderation inclined the princes in his favor, and strengthened their disposition to aid his projects. Henry VIII. of England, although he wrote with a coarseness against him which he equaled in his reply, reformed the English church and threw off the papal yoke, a step which he would, in all probability, not have ventured upon without Luther's precedent. Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxony, where Frederick introduced the service in the German language, and, in 1524, the first German Psalm Book into the churches, warmly espoused the cause of the Reformation. The cities also declared in its favor. In 1523, Magdeburg, Wismar, Rostock, Stettin, Dantzic, Riga, expelled the monks and priests and appointed Lutheran preachers. Nuremberg and Breslau, where almost all the priests married, hailed the Reformation with delight.

In Switzerland, 1516, Ulric Zwingli of Toggenburg began to preach against ecclesiastical abuses, but was silenced by a papal pension. Luther's example, however, again roused his courage, and, since 1519, he exercised the greatest influence in Zurich, where the citizens generally

favoured the Reformation. Their example was followed by those of Berne, Basel, Strasburg, Constance, Muhlhausen, St. Gall, Glarus, Schaffhausen, and a part of Appenzell and the Grisons. In Zurich, Zwingli destroyed the pictures and organs in the churches, while Luther protected and honored art. His marriage with a widow, Anna Reinhardt, was solemnized in 1524. He administered the sacrament without the holy wafer, with common bread and wine. The Anabaptists, repulsed by Luther, encouraged by these precedents, drew near to Zwingli, and their leader, Thomas Munzer, who had been expelled from Wittenberg, went to Waldshut on the Rhine, where, countenanced by the priest, Hubmaier, the greatest disorder took place. Zwingli declared against them, and caused several of them to be drowned, in 1524; but was, nevertheless, still regarded by Luther as a man who, under the cloak of spiritual liberty, sought to bring about political changes. Faber preached at Berne that the Reformers had begun with the clergy, but should end with the rulers. Luther, on the contrary, cherished an almost biblical reverence for the anointed of the Lord, by whose aid he hoped to succeed in reforming the church. Zwingli also went much further than Luther in his attack upon the ancient mysteries, teaching, for instance, that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper merely typified the body and blood of Christ, while Luther maintained their being the real presence.

In 1521, Charles V. had raised his ancient tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, to the pontifical throne. This excellent old man fully acknowledged the evils that prevailed in the church, accepted the hundred grievances of the Germans, and projected a comprehensive reform in the outward observances of the church, independent of its doctrine. He shared the fate of almost every German pontiff who had ventured to reform the Church of Rome, and expired in 1523. His successor, Clement VII., declared with great truth that "the separation of the North from the church was far less perilous than a general Reformation, and that it was better to lose a part

than the whole." His endeavors were, therefore, chiefly directed to the isolation of the Reformation, an idea which he sought, by means of his coadjutors, Matthew Lang and the Archduke Ferdinand, to instill into the mind of the emperor. The persecution of the Lutherans, several of whom were condemned to death, began at this period.

The tranquillity of Germany was at this time disturbed by the Wurtemberg, Hildesheim, and Sickingen feuds. To the numerous nobility of the empire in Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhenish provinces, the opening Reformation presented a favorable opportunity for improving their circumscribed political position, seizing the rich lands belonging to the church, and raising themselves to an equality with, if not deposing, the temporal princes. Ulric von Hutten vainly admonished their union with the citizens and the peasantry as the only means of success, a policy which their pride of birth and dread of the encroaching democracy forbade them to pursue. Franz von Sickingen,¹ a man of diminutive stature and of surpassing valor and wit, celebrated for his private feuds with Metz, Worms, and Lorraine, had, in the commencement of the war between Charles V. and Francis I., been intrusted with the command on the Rhine, where he was opposed by the Chevalier Bayard, whom he shut up in Mezieres and was solely prevented taking prisoner by the jealousy of the count of Nassau. Francis I. seized this opportunity to make proposals to Sickingen and to the German nobility, who, in the hope of succeeding in their schemes by his aid, willingly listened, and Sickingen convoked the whole of the immediate nobility of the empire of Swabia, Franconia, and the Rhine, to a great diet at Landau, in 1522, where he was nominated captain of the confederacy, and it was even whispered that, in case of success, he was destined to the imperial throne. His opponents termed him the anti-emperor; Luther, the anti-pope. Cleves, Limburg, and Brunswick rose in his favor, but were reduced to submis-

¹ His portrait and that of Ulric von Hutten, by Albert Durer, are in the Munich Gallery.

sion by the princes of Cleves, Cologne, and Hesse. In 1522, he besieged Richard of Treves at the head of twelve thousand men, but was repulsed by the princes of Hesse and of the Pfalz. Deserted by Furstenberg and Zollern, the chiefs of the confederacy, he bravely defended his fortress of Landstuhl against the overwhelming forces of the enemy, until it was reduced to a mass of ruins by the heavy cannonade. Mortally wounded by a splinter, he lay on his deathbed, bitterly exclaiming, "Where now are my friends Arnberg, Furstenberg, Horn!" etc., when the princes of the Pfalz, of Hesse, and Treves, who had gained possession of the fortress, entered his chamber. Richard of Treves loaded him with reproaches, to which he merely replied, "I have now to speak with a greater Lord than you," and immediately expired. The three princes knelt and prayed for the salvation of his soul. The taking of the Landstuhl decided the triumph of the new over the old mode of warfare, of artillery over the sword, the lance, and walled fortress, and that of the princes over the nobility. Ulric von Hutten fled to Switzerland, and died at Ufnau, on the lake of Zurich, in 1525. Several other feuds of minor importance also disturbed the empire. During the period intervening between the defeat of Sickingen and the great insurrection of the peasantry, the papal faction was unremitting in its attacks against that of Saxony. The government of the empire, over which Frederick of Saxony exercised great influence, being unable to maintain tranquillity during the emperor's absence, its authority consequently diminished, and was finally destroyed by the disunion that prevailed among the Estates at the diet held at Nuremberg, 1524. The disinclination of the emperor to countenance the Reformation, the discord that broke out among the princes at the diet, and their inability to guide the Reformation and to hold the reins of government, necessarily produced popular anarchy on the one hand, and a fresh attack on the part of the pope on the other. Before the outbreak of the great peasant war, immediately on the dissolution of the Nuremberg diet,

Clement VII., by the cession of the fifth of all the revenues of the church to the Bavarian dukes, induced them to promise to take up arms in case of necessity against the heretics, and to make the university of Ingolstadt a bulwark of Ultramontaniam. The Archduke Frederick also received in donation from the pope a third of the church revenues within his possessions, and appears, according to Ranke, in his account of the Reformation in Germany, to have also acceded to similar terms, 1524.

CXCIV. *The Peasant War—Defeat of the Peasants*

THE example of the nobility, who revolted singly against the princes, was followed by the peasantry, who had not remained undisturbed by the general movement. The religious liberty preached by Luther was understood by them as also implying the political freedom for which they sighed.

Their condition had greatly deteriorated during the past century. The nobility had bestowed the chief part of their wealth on the church and dissipated the remainder at court. Luxury had also greatly increased, and the peasant was consequently laden with feudal dues of every description, to which were added their ill-treatment by the men-at-arms and mercenaries maintained at their expense, the damage done by the game, the destruction of the crops by the noble followers of the chase, and finally, the extortions practiced by the new law offices, the wearisome written proceedings, and the impoverishment consequent on lawsuits. The German peasant, despised and enslaved, could no longer seek refuge from the tyranny of his liege in the cities, where the reception of fresh suburbans was strictly prohibited, and where the citizen, enervated by wealth and luxury, instead of siding with the peasant, imitated the noble and viewed him with contempt.

Attempts had already been made to cast off the yoke, when the Reformation broke out and inspired the oppressed peasantry with the hope that the fall of the hierarchy would

be followed by that of the feudal system. In 1522, they raised the standard of revolt, the golden shoe, with the motto, "Whoever will be free, let him follow this ray of light," in the Hegau, but were reduced to submission. In the autumn of 1524, a fresh insurrection broke out and spread throughout Upper Swabia. Donau-Eschingen was unsuccessfully besieged by the insurgents. During the winter, George Truchsess (dapifer) von Waldburg was nominated by King Ferdinand to the command of the Swabian confederacy against the peasantry, and ordered to use the utmost severity in order to quell the revolt. Negotiations were at first carried on between the Truchsess and the peasants of Stuhlingen, notwithstanding which, in the spring of 1525, the insurrection again burst out on every side under George Schmidt and George Tœubner, who formed a confederacy including all the neighboring peasantry, and fixed a stake before the house door of every man who refused to join, in sign of his being an enemy to the common cause. The Algauer under Waltherbach von Au, and the citizens of Memmingen under their preacher, Schappeler, joined the insurgents. The serfs of the Truchsess besieged his castles. Ulric, the smith of Sulmentingen, encamped at the head of eighteen thousand men at Baldringen. The most numerous and the boldest band of insurgents assembled under Eitel Hans Muller, on the Lake of Constance. Ulric, the ex-duke of Wurtemberg, seized this opportunity and raised a body of fifteen thousand Swiss mercenaries, in the hope of regaining possession of his territories. The Swiss, bribed by the Truchsess, who was shut up in Tuttlingen between them and the insurgent peasantry, deserted Ulric when marching upon Stuttgart, sold his artillery, and compelled him to seek refuge within the walls of Rotweil. The Swiss, although themselves peasants, discovered little inclination to aid their fellows, and monopolized their freedom. The peasants, abandoned by the Swiss, were now exposed to the whole of the Truchsess's forces, consisting of two thousand cavalry and seven thousand infantry, well

supplied with artillery furnished by the large towns, and were slaughtered in great numbers at Leipheim and Wurzach; but their opponent was in his turn shut up in Weingarten by Eitel Hans Muller, and compelled to negotiate terms. The peasantry discovered extreme moderation in their demands, which were included in twelve articles, and elected a court of arbitration consisting of the Archduke Ferdinand, the elector of Saxony, Luther, Melancthon, and some preachers, before which their grievances were to be laid.

The twelve articles were as follows: 1. The right of the peasantry to appoint their own preachers, who were to be allowed to preach the word of God from the Bible. 2. That the dues paid by the peasantry were to be abolished, with the exception of the tithes ordained by God for the maintenance of the clergy, the surplus of which was to be applied to general purposes and to the maintenance of the poor. 3. The abolition of vassalage as iniquitous. 4. The right of hunting, fishing, and fowling. 5. That of cutting wood in the forests. 6. The modification of socage and average-service. 7. That the peasant should be guaranteed from the caprice of his lord by a fixed agreement. 8. The modification of the rent upon feudal lands, by which a part of the profit would be secured to the occupant. 9. The administration of justice according to the ancient laws, not according to the new statutes and to caprice. 10. The restoration of communal property, illegally seized. 11. The abolition of dues on the death of the serf, by which the widows and orphans were deprived of their right. 12. The acceptance of the aforesaid articles, or their refutation as contrary to the Scriptures.

The princes naturally ridiculed the simplicity of the peasantry in deeming a court of arbitration, in which Luther was to be seated at the side of the archduke, possible, and Luther himself refused to interfere in their affairs. Although free from the injustice of denying the oppressed condition of the peasantry, for which he had severely attacked the princes and nobility, he dreaded the insolence of the

peasantry under the guidance of the Anabaptists and enthusiasts, whom he viewed with deep repugnance, and, consequently, used his utmost endeavors to quell the sedition; but the peasantry, believing themselves betrayed by him, gave way to greater excesses, and Thomas Munzer openly accused him "of deserting the cause of liberty, and of rendering the Reformation a fresh advantage for the princes, a fresh means of tyranny."

The whole of the peasantry in Southern Germany, incited by fanatical preachers, meanwhile revolted, and were joined by several cities. Carlstadt, expelled from Saxony, now appeared at Rotenburg on the Tauber, and the Upper German peasantry, inflamed by his exhortations to prosecute the Reformation independently of Luther, whom he accused of countenancing the princes, rose in the March and April of 1525, in order to maintain the twelve articles by force, to compel the princes and nobles to subscribe to them, to destroy the monasteries, and to spread the gospel. Mergentheim, the seat of the unpopular German Hospitalers, was plundered. The counts of Hohenlohe were forced to join the insurgents, who said to them, "Brother Albert and brother George, you are no longer lords but peasants, we are the lords of Hohenlohe!" The ringleaders were Florian Geyer, a notorious captain of mercenaries, Bermeter, Metzler, a tavern-keeper in the Odenwald, and Jæchlein Rohrbach. Numbers of the nobility were forced, under pain of their castles being plundered and destroyed, to join the insurgents. The castle and city of Weinsberg, in which a number of Swabian nobles had taken refuge with their families and treasure, were besieged, and the former was stormed and taken by Geyer. The citizens retained the nobles (who, on seeing all was lost, attempted to flee) by force, and they fell together into the hands of the victorious peasantry, by whom the nobles, seventy in number, were condemned to run between two ranks of men armed with spears, with which they pierced them as they passed.

This atrocious deed drew a pamphlet from Luther

"against the furious peasantry," in which he called upon all the citizens of the empire "to strangle, to stab them, secretly and openly, as they can, as one would kill a mad dog."¹ The peasantry had, however, ceased to respect him. Florian Geyer returned to Franconia, where he systematically destroyed the castles of the nobility. The main body of the insurgents, meanwhile, held a great council of war at Gundelsheim, in which Wendel Hippler, who had formerly been in the service of the counts of Hohenlohe, by whom he had been ill-treated, advised them to seek the alliance of the lower nobility against the princes, and to take the numerous troops of mercenaries, inclined to favor their cause, into their pay. The avarice and confidence of the peasantry caused the latter proposal to be rejected, but the former one was acceded to, and the chief command was accordingly imposed upon the notorious robber-knight on the Kocher, Gœtz von Berlichingen with the iron hand. Gœtz had carried on several feuds with the temporal and spiritual princes, and was reputed a bold and independent spirit; his courage was, however, the only quality befitting him for the office thus imposed upon him, his knowledge of warfare being solely confined to the tactics of highway robbery. His life had been spent in petty contests; and in the candid biography, still extant, written by himself, he never even alludes to the great ideas of the times, but details with extreme zest the manner in which he had waylaid and plundered not only armed foes, but also peaceable wayfarers and merchants. With this extraordinary leader, or rather prisoner, at their head, the multitude crossed the Neckar, and advancing into the valley of the Maine, spread terror as far as Frankfort, where the communes rose and deposed the council. Aschaffenburg was forced to subscribe to the twelve articles. The peasants around Spire and Worms, and in the Pfalz, on either bank of the Rhine, meanwhile revolted under

¹ Caspar von Schwenkfeld said, "Luther has led the people out of Egypt (the papacy) through the Red Sea (the peasant war), but has deserted them in the wilderness." Luther never forgave him.

Frederick Wurm, and a citizen of Weissenburg nicknamed Bacchus. The insurrection in the Pfalz was quelled by the Elector Louis, who listened to the demands of the peasantry and induced them to return to their homes. The eastern part of Swabia was completely revolutionized, and fresh multitudes assembled at Gaildorf and Ellwangen, under Jacob Bader, who needlessly destroyed the fine old castle of Hohenstaufen, and, on the Neckar side of the Alp, Matern Feuerbacher assembled twenty-five thousand men. Had those multitudes, instead of plundering monasteries and castles, aided their brethren of Upper Swabia, the force of the Truchsess, before which Eitel Hans Müller was retreating, must have been annihilated.

The main body of the peasantry, under Goetz, Metzler, and Geyer, now marched upon Würzburg, within whose fortress the clergy and nobility had secured their treasures. The whole country was in open revolt as far as Thuringia. In the city of Würzburg, Hans Bermeter had already incited the citizens to rebellion and had plundered the houses of the clergy. The city was easily taken, but the strongly-fortified castle of Frauenberg was gallantly defended by the feudal retainers of the bishop. Several bloody attacks proving unsuccessful, Goetz advised his followers to retreat, and either to aid the Swabian peasantry against the Truchsess or to overrun the whole of Franconia and Thuringia, and to spread the revolution to the utmost limits of the empire. But his advice was overruled by Geyer, and the peasants continued to expend their energy on the impregnable fort until the news of the unsuccessful defense of their brethren in Swabia against the Truchsess was brought by Hippler, in consequence of which the siege was suddenly raised, and the united force of the peasantry was turned against the Truchsess.

The elector, Louis, would—notwithstanding the counsels of the refugee nobility, the bishops of Würzburg and Spire, who continually admonished him to break his plighted word, to follow the example given by the Truchsess and others of

the nobility, and to head his troops against the peasantry—have remained true to his promise, had he not applied for advice to Melancthon, who declared him free from guilt in case he broke his knightly word, and zealously exhorted him to make head against the rebels. He joined the Truchsess, who now found himself at the head of a well-armed force of twelve thousand men, and marched to the relief of Würzburg.

When too late, the Franconian peasantry resorted to diplomatic measures by the convocation of a Franconian diet at Schweinfurt, composed of all the Estates and nobles by whom they had been joined, and which was opened by an energetic manifesto. Negotiation was, however, unavailing in the face of a victorious imperial army. Battle or flight were the only alternatives, and the diet was dissolved after sitting a few days. Hippler vainly loaded the peasants with bitter reproaches for their rejection of the counsel he had so wisely given, and endeavored to maintain some degree of discipline and order. Goetz von Berlichingen secretly regained his home during the following night, May 28. 1525, and a general dispersion took place among the different bodies of peasantry. On June 2, the Truchsess attacked Metzler, who had encamped near Koenigshofen. Metzler fled, and the peasantry were cut down by thousands. This defeat was chiefly caused by the disunion that prevailed among them and by the absence of Geyer and his followers, who were engaged in negotiating terms with the Margrave Casimir von Culmbach, and in besieging the castle of Würzburg. Geyer reached the field of battle too late to turn the day, and was himself defeated in a decisive and desperate engagement that took place a few days after. He escaped to the vicinity of Limburg, where he was overtaken and slain.

Thousands of the peasantry had fallen, and all opposition now ceased. The city of Würzburg threw open her gates to the triumphant Truchsess, who held a fearful court of judgment, in which the prisoners were beheaded by his jester,

Hans;¹ nineteen citizens and thirty-six ringleaders were among the number. Similar horrors were enacted throughout the country, and were followed by a systematic persecution on the part of the bishop. The Rhenish princes were, nevertheless, speedily recalled in order to quell a fresh insurrection that had broken out in their rear, and were again victorious at Pfeddersheim. The Margrave, Casimir of Brandenburg-Culmbach, who had kept his father a close prisoner for several years under pretext of insanity, treated the peasantry with the most refined cruelty, and reduced them to such a state of desperation that the peasant lads would ask him as he rode along whether he intended to exterminate their class. The Truchsess, after the execution at Würzburg, joined Casimir at Bamberg, which had been lately the scene of a fresh defeat of the wretched peasantry, who, together with some of the citizens, suspected of co-operating with them, were cruelly butchered. Hundreds of heads fell on the return of the expelled nobility. The spiritual princes surpassed their lay brethren in atrocity. Another insurrection in Upper Swabia was put down. Goetz was retained a prisoner for two years. Hippler died in prison. Nor did the cruelty of the Truchsess remain unretributed. His son, a student in the French university, was carried off, and, in all probability, murdered (as he never reappeared), by a Chevalier von Rosenberg, whom he had insulted.

At the same time, in the summer of 1525, an insurrec-

¹ The peasants knelt in a row before the Truchsess, while Hans the Jester, with the sword of execution in his hand, marched up and down behind them. The Truchsess demanded, "which among them had been implicated in the revolt?" None acknowledged the crime. "Which of them had read the Bible?" Some said yes, some no, and each of those who replied in the affirmative was instantly deprived of his head by Hans, amid the loud laughter of the squires. The same fate befell those who knew how to read or write. The priest of Schipf, an old gouty man, who had zealously opposed the peasantry, had himself carried by four of his men to the Truchsess in order to receive the thanks of that prince for his services; but Hans, imagining that he was one of the rebels, suddenly stepping behind him, cut off his head; "upon which," the Truchsess relates, "I seriously reprov'd my good Hans for his untoward jest."—See *Hormayr*. A young peasant said, as he was about to be beheaded, "Alas! alas! must I die so soon, and I have scarcely had a bellyful twice in my life!"—*Stumpf*.

tion, bearing a more religious character, broke out in Thuringia, where Thomas Münzer appeared as a prophet, and preached the doctrines of equality and fraternity. The insurgents were defeated by Ernest, Count von Mansfeld, whose brother Albert had conceded all their demands; and afterward at Fulda, by Philip of Hesse, who, re-enforced by Ernest, the Duke George, and the Elector John of Saxony, marched on Frankenhäusen, the headquarters of the rebels, who, infatuated with the belief that Heaven would fight for them, allowed themselves to be slaughtered while invoking aid from God. Five thousand were slain. Frankenhäusen was taken and pillaged, and three hundred prisoners were beheaded. Münzer was discovered in a haystack, in which he had secreted himself, put to the rack, and executed with twenty-six of his companions.

The revolt had, meanwhile, spread from Strasburg throughout Styria, Carinthia, and a part of the Tyrol, and Count Sigmund von Dietrichstein was dispatched thither by the Archduke Ferdinand, at the head of a small troop of mercenaries, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity. The mercenaries, however, refusing to face the insurgents, he was compelled to retreat and to re-enforce himself with Hussars,¹ who practiced the greatest atrocities in the Alps. While carousing with his followers at Schladming, celebrated for its mines, he was surprised during the night by the peasants under Michael Gruber. Three thousand of his soldiers were slain, thirty-two nobles beheaded, and he was himself taken prisoner. His life was spared at the request of the mercenaries, who had deserted to the rebels, but all the Bohemians and Hussars in his army were put to death;

Ferdinand now attempted to pacify the peasantry by concessions and promises, and sent to them, as mediator, George von Frundsberg, the idol of the mercenaries, who succeeded in quelling the rebellion in the Salzbnrg territory.

¹ So named from the Hungarian number "huss," twenty; these troops of cavalry having been originally formed by the enrollment of every twentieth man in Hungary. — *Trans.*

Nicolas von Salm, however, refused to make terms with the insurgents, and burned Schlading with all its inhabitants, forcing those who attempted to escape back into the flames. He was also victorious over the rebel chief, Geismayr, at Radstadt. Fearful reprisals were taken. The whole country became one scene of devastation, and young children were cast as "Lutheran dogs" into the flames.

Thus terminated this terrible struggle, during which more than one hundred thousand of the peasantry fell, and which reduced the survivors to a more degraded state of slavery.

CXCV. *Increasing Power of the House of Habsburg—Victories in Italy—The Intermixture of Diplomacy with the Reformation—The Augsburg Confession*

THE emperor, Charles V., and his brother, Ferdinand, engaged in extending the power of their family abroad, took merely a secondary interest in the events that agitated Germany. The rescue of Italy from French influence and intrigue, the alliance of the pope as a means of promoting the interest of the house of Habsburg, and the possession of the Luxemburg inheritance (Hungary and Bohemia), formed the chief objects of their ambition; and the royal brothers, consequently, solely took a serious part in the internal movements of the empire, or made use of them, for the purpose of influencing the pope.

Austria was by no means free from the general state of fermentation, and demanded the greatest caution on the part of her ruler. A new government had been formed by the Estates on the death of Maximilian, and their recognition of his grandson was declared dependent upon certain conditions. The doctrines of Luther were also preached at Vienna, by Paul von Spretten (Speratus), and were generally disseminated throughout Austria. Charles V., unable at that moment to turn his attention to that portion of his dominions, intrusted its management to the archduke,

who visited Vienna in 1522, seized the persons of the new counselors at a banquet, and deprived them and six of the citizens of their heads. Speratus was banished, and his successor, Tauler, condemned to the stake. Hubmaier of Waldshut was also burned. Lutheranism, nevertheless, rapidly progressed, and fresh preachers, patronized and protected by the nobility, upon whom Ferdinand could not retaliate, arose. The disputes between the emperor and the pope, moreover, inclined him to leave the Reformers unharassed, nor was he altogether uninfluenced by the hope of enriching himself with the plunder of the church. During his church visitation in 1528, he discovered that almost the whole of the Austrian nobility had embraced Lutheranism; and in 1532, the Estates demanded religious liberty, and reiterated their demand with increased energy in 1541. When, in 1538, Cardinal Alcander visited Austria, he found several hundred curacies vacant, the priests having either run away or married, leaving their posts to be gradually refilled by Lutheran preachers. For ten years past, not a single student in the university of Vienna had turned monk.

Louis, the unfortunate king of Bohemia and Hungary, fell in his twentieth year, in the great battle of Mohacz, fighting against the Turks, and his possessions were inherited by Ferdinand in right of his wife, Anna, Louis's sister. The Bohemians, unwilling to give up their Hussite compacts, as admonished by Luther, who urged them to make common cause with Saxony, were flattered and caressed by the archduke, who promised toleration in religious matters. In Hungary he behaved with still greater liberality, and placed himself at the head of the Reformers; the Catholics, supported by the pope, attempting to place John Zapolya on the throne. This competitor was defeated, and Ferdinand solemnized his coronation at Stuhlweissenburg in 1527. William of Bavaria, another aspirant to the throne of Bohemia, was rejected by the Bohemians in favor of the more tolerant archduke, and ever afterward distinguished himself as a cruel persecutor of the Lutherans.

While these disturbances afflicted Germany, the youthful emperor was busily engaged with Spain and Italy. On the conclusion of the council of Worms he had hastened into Spain to quell a revolt that had broken out against the Habsburg rule. Order was speedily restored, and, after fortifying himself by an alliance with England against France, he dispatched a Spanish army under Pescara into Italy. The constable, Charles de Bourbon, who was on ill terms with his cousin, the French king, also exerted his distinguished talents as a commander in his favor. The pope, Adrian, was a complete tool of the emperor; but his successor, Clement, endeavored to hold the balance between the emperor and France, while the petty Italian states dreaded the overwhelming power of the former more than the influence of the latter. The French under Lautrec, aided by Swiss mercenaries, were, consequently, enabled to take firm footing in Italy, and Pescara was hard pushed. George von Frundsberg and his German Lancers unexpectedly came to his rescue across the Veltlin, and an engagement, in which five thousand of the Swiss fell, took place at Bicocca in 1522. The Flemish and English also invaded France and advanced as far as Paris in 1523. In the ensuing year, Bourbon and Pescara expelled the French from Italy. Frundsberg took Genoa by storm, but Marseilles made a steady resistance. Twelve thousand of the Lancers were carried off by pestilence and famine during the futile siege.

In the ensuing year, Francis I. took the field at the head of a fine army, supported by eight thousand Swiss under Diesbach, and the Black Guard, five thousand strong, composed of German mercenaries. Bourbon, Pescara, and Frundsberg awaited the enemy at Pavia, where a decisive battle was fought, February 24, 1525. Francis, incredulous of defeat, refused to quit the field and was taken prisoner. The whole of the Black Guard was cut to pieces by their enraged countrymen. Twenty thousand of the French and their allies strewed the field.

This glorious victory, however, exposed the emperor to

fresh danger. His power was viewed with universal apprehension. England united with France; the pope, the Italian princes, not excepting Francesco Sforza, who owed his restoration to the ducal throne of Milan to Charles, followed her example, and Pescara's fidelity was attempted to be shaken. France took up arms for her captive monarch, and Charles, with characteristic prudence, concluded peace at Madrid with his prisoner, in 1526, who swore to renounce all claim upon Italy and Burgundy, and to wed the emperor's sister, Eleonora, the widowed queen of Portugal. But faith had fled from courts. Francis no sooner regained his liberty than he sought to evade his oath, from which the pope, moreover, released him. Charles, meanwhile, retained his sons in hostage.

Pescara dying, Charles de Bourbon was created generalissimo of the imperial forces in Italy, and fresh re-enforcements were granted at the diet held at Spires by the princes in 1526, who in return were allowed freedom of conscience, the edict of Worms being abrogated, if not in form, at least in fact. George von Frundsberg, himself a Lutheran, and Sebastian Schertlin, another celebrated captain, speedily found themselves at the head of a picked body of troops. A mutiny, however, caused by the emperor's delay in furnishing the sum required, broke out in the camp. Florence, trembling for her safety, sent 150,000 ducats, and Charles of Bourbon condescended to demand aid, which was refused, from the pope. Frundsberg vainly attempted to quell the mutiny. His Lancers turned their arms against him. He fell senseless with rage, and never after sufficiently recovered to retake the command, which deferred to the constable. The Lancers, ashamed of their conduct, demanded to be led against the pope, and astonished Rome suddenly beheld the enemy before her gates. Charles de Bourbon was killed by a shot from the city. The soldiery, enraged at this catastrophe, carried it by storm (1527). The pillage lasted fourteen days. The commands of the officers were disregarded, and Frundsberg fell ill from vexation. The Lutheran troop-

ers converted the papal chapels into stables, dressed themselves in the cardinals' robes, and proclaimed Luther pope. Clement was besieged in the Torre di San Angelo and taken prisoner. The numbers of unburied bodies, however, produced a pestilence, which carried off the greater part of the invaders. The survivors, headed by the Prince of Orange, marched to Naples, which he valiantly defended against the French. The Germans under Schertlin fought their way back to Germany. The French again invaded Italy, and regained Genoa, but being defeated at Pavia by Caspar, the son of George von Frundsberg, Naples still holding out, Henry of Brunswick marching to the emperor's aid, and Andreas Doria, the celebrated doge of Genoa, declaring in Charles's favor, Francis I. concluded a treaty at Cambray, in 1529, known as the ladies' peace, his mother and the emperor's aunt, Margaret, stadtholderess of the Netherlands, being the chief negotiators. Eleonora of Portugal restored the two hostages to their father, by whom she was received as a bride.

The defeat of the nobility and peasantry had crushed the revolutionary spirit in the people, and the Reformation, stripped of its terrors, began to be regarded as advantageous by the princes. Luther also appeared, not as a dangerous innovator, but in the light of a zealous upholder of princely power, the Divine origin of which he even made an article of faith; and thus through Luther's well-meant policy, the Reformation, the cause of the people, naturally became that of the princes, and, consequently, instead of being the aim, was converted into a means of their policy. In England, Henry VIII. favored the Reformation for the sake of becoming pope in his own dominions, and of giving unrestrained license to tyranny and caprice. In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa embraced the Lutheran faith as a wider mark of distinction between the Swedes and Danes, whose king, Christiern, he had driven out of Sweden. His example was followed, in 1527, by the grand-master, Albert of Prussia, who hoped by that means to render that country a

hereditary possession in his family. His cousin, the detestable Casimir von Culmbach, sought to wipe out the memory of his parricide by his confession of the new faith. Barnim of Pomerania, Henry of Mecklenburg, the Guelphic princes of Brunswick, Wolfgang von Anhalt, and the counts of Mansfeld appear to have been actuated by nobler motives in favoring the Reformation. John, elector of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, adhered to Luther's cause with genuine enthusiasm. Lubeck, Schleswig, Holstein, and the majority of the northern cities, had already declared in favor of the Reformation. Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel, and George, duke of Saxon-Thuringia, formed the sole exceptions among the northern potentates, and remained strictly Catholic, partly through dread of the emperor and of the pope, partly through jealousy of their relatives and neighbors.

The elector John, Luther's most zealous partisan, immediately on his accession to the government of Saxony, on the death of Frederick the Wise, empowered Luther to undertake a church visitation throughout his dominions, and to arrange ecclesiastical affairs according to the spirit of the doctrine he taught. His example was followed by the rest of the Lutheran princes, and this measure necessarily led to a separation from, instead of a thorough reformation of the church. The first step was the abolition of monasteries and the confiscation of their wealth by the state, by which a portion was set apart for the extension of the academies and schools. The monks and nuns were absolved from their vows, compelled to marry, and to follow a profession. The aged people were provided for during the remainder of their lives. These measures, arbitrary as they appear, were hailed with delight by multitudes of both sexes, who sometimes quitted their convents without receiving permission, and Luther, in defiance of the ancient prophecy that antichrist would spring from the union of a monk and nun, wedded, in 1525, the beautiful young nun, Catherine von Bora, who brought him several children.

The whole system of the church was simplified. The sequestrated bishoprics were provisionally administered, and the affairs of the Lutheran church controlled by commissioners selected from among the Reformers, and by the councils of the princes, Luther incessantly promulgating the doctrine of the right of temporal sovereigns to decide all ecclesiastical questions. His intention was the creation of a counterpoise to ecclesiastical authority, and he was probably far from imagining that religion might eventually be deprived of her dignity and liberty by temporal despotism. Episcopal authority passed entirely into the hands of the princes. An ecclesiastic, who received the denomination of preacher or pastor (shepherd), was placed over each of the communes. The churches were stripped of their ornaments, and the clergy, like Luther, assumed the black habit of the Augustins, over which they placed the white surplice when before the altar. The German language was adopted in the service. Luther edited the first book of hymns, the most beautiful among which were his composition. The church catechism was also placed in the hands of the schoolmaster, who was under the surveillance of the pastor. The schools were greatly improved by Luther.

Luther carried on a long and bitter dispute with Erasmus, which was rendered more violent by the papist party, who poured oil upon the flames of discord.

In the diet held at Spires, in 1529, the Catholic princes, who had entered into closer union with the emperor, and were in the majority, prohibited all further reform, and decreed that the affairs of the church should remain in statu quo until the convocation of a council. Against this an energetic protest was made by the Lutheran princes, from which they and the Lutheran party received the name of Protestants, April 19, 1529. The ambassadors deputed to present this protest to the emperor, who was at that time in Italy, were thrown by him into prison.

The Landgrave, Philip, weary of the slow advance of the Reformation, notwithstanding the general feeling in its favor,

now projected the union of all the Reformers in the empire, and, for this purpose, concerted a meeting between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg in 1529. Luther's invincible repugnance to the tenets of the latter, however, proved an insuperable obstacle to concord. He was, moreover, infatuated with the idea of gaining over the emperor to his cause, on his return from Italy. The elector, John, sued for the hand of the emperor's sister, Catherine, for his son.

Charles V., after his triumph at Pavia and the conquest of Rome, had arranged the affairs of Italy and entered into alliance with the pope, on whose natural son, Alessandro di Medici, he bestowed his natural daughter, Margaret, and the duchy of Florence. Francesco Sforza was permitted to retain Milan. In reference to religion, the pope openly preferred a schism to a council, whence a general reformation might result; and Charles, intent upon weakening the opposition of the princes (*divide et impera*), unable to crush the Lutheran party without resorting to open and bloody warfare, and compelled by necessity to direct the whole of his forces against the invading Turk, fully shared his views.

The Turks, then at the height of their power, had, under Suleiman II., taken Rhodes and driven thence the knights of St. John, 1522. Suleiman, prevailed upon by France, recognized John Zapolya as king of Hungary, in 1529, entered that country at the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men, took possession of it and laid siege to Vienna. The siege lasted twenty-one days. After a last and furious attempt to take the city by storm, Suleiman, after laying the country waste as far as Ratisbon, withdrew, carrying thousands of the inhabitants away captive.

The news of the retreat of the Turks no sooner reached the emperor in Italy than his projects for reducing the Germans to submission revived. After solemnizing his coronation at Bologna, he returned to Germany, where, on the 18th of June, 1530, he opened the great diet at Augsburg. The hopes cherished by Luther and by Saxony were completely frustrated, the proud emperor refusing to bestow the hand

of his sister on the elector, or to invest him, as was customary, with the electorate, while Luther, owing to his being still under the ban of the empire, was unable to appear in person at Augsburg. Lutheran preaching was also strictly prohibited in the city during the sitting of the diet. The princes, nevertheless, openly confessed their resolution to remain true to the faith they professed, and the emperor found himself compelled to hear the accused before deciding the Lutheran question. The confession of faith, known as the Augsburg Confession, drawn up by Melancthon, and remarkable for precision, vigor, moderation, and forethought, was, consequently, publicly laid, in 1530, before him by the princes. Charles expressed a desire to have it read in Latin, which was opposed by the elector, John, who exclaimed, "We stand on German ground, his Majesty will therefore surely permit us to use the German language." Charles assented, and Bajer, the chancellor of Saxony, read it in a loud, clear tone, that was distinctly heard, even in the castle-yard. The cities of Upper Germany, more Zwinglian than Lutheran, presented a particular confession, and a third party sent a printed copy of Zwingli's creed. The result was, the adhesion of William of Nassau to the Protestants the instant he became acquainted with their tenets, and a counter declaration or confutation, remarkable for weakness, on the part of the emperor.

A last attempt, made by Melancthon, and supported by Luther, to bring about a general reformation in the church by means of the pope, with the view of securing the church from the authority of the temporal princes, failed, owing to the extreme demoralization of the clergy, and Luther was speedily reduced to silence by the princes intent upon the secularization of the bishoprics.

The Landgrave, Philip, equally averse to the conferences both with the emperor and the pope (the Germans, according to him, wanting the spirit and not the power to help themselves), secretly quitted the diet and returned home, filled with anger at the weakness of his friends in subscribing to

the decree by which the disciples of Zwingli were put under the ban of the empire. He had, however, the melancholy gratification of seeing the failure of the projected reconciliation, the Protestants, after long and vainly demanding the acknowledgment of their confession of faith from the emperor, refusing to grant the aid he in his turn demanded against the Turks, and the diet being dissolved in anger on both sides. The edict of Worms, condemnatory of the whole of the Lutheran innovations, was confirmed by the emperor. This edict was rejected by the Protestants, and the city of Augsburg, notwithstanding the emperor's presence, refused to subscribe. The emperor, unable to contend against the spirit of the Protestant and the jealousy of the Catholic party, was compelled to yield. The election of his brother as king of Germany, for the greater security of the power of his house in Germany and Hungary during his almost constant absence, was effected, after the dissolution of the diet, by the Catholic electors, in January, 1531, at Cologne, Saxony refusing to vote and the dukes of Bavaria, the most zealous among the Catholic party, siding, on this fresh confirmation of the hereditary power of Austria and the consequent fall of their hopes for the possession of the crown, with the opposition.

The warlike projects of the Landgrave were now upheld by the whole of the Protestant party, and Luther, who had formerly maintained that obedience to the emperor, as supreme ruler, was a Divine command, openly declared war against the emperor to be agreeable to the will of God. In 1531, an offensive and defensive alliance was entered into at Schmalkald by John, elector of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, Philip, Ernest and Francis of Brunswick, Wolfgang of Anhalt, the counts of Mansfeld, and the cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isni, Lubeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen. Brunswick, Goettingen, Gosslar, and Eimback gradually joined the alliance; Bavaria declared herself willing to favor the Protestants, and drew Zapolya in Hungary and the French mon-

arch into their interest. On the 26th May, 1532, a formal treaty was signed at Scheyern between France, Bavaria, Saxony, and Hesse, which drew a protest from Luther, whose national feelings revolted at a league with France, his country's hereditary foe. His words found an echo in the hearts of the electors; the French plenipotentiaries were dismissed, and a reconciliation with the emperor, who, alarmed at the double danger with which he was threatened from the French and Turks, no longer held aloof, took place, and, in 1532, a treaty for the settlement of existing religious differences was signed at Nuremberg, the emperor acknowledging Protestantism in statu quo, but merely until a future and definitive settlement, and strictly prohibiting every fresh reform, as well as excluding the Zwinglians, who were a second time put under the ban by their Lutheran brethren; the Protestants, in consideration of this concession, granting the aid demanded by the emperor against the Turks.

It was high time. Suleiman had again presented himself on the frontier, at the head of an immense army, with the avowed intention of placing himself on the throne of the Western empire. All Germany flew to arms. The news of the termination of intestine dissension in Germany no sooner reached the sultan's ears than he asked, with astonishment, "Whether the emperor had really made peace with Martin Luther?" and, although the Germans only mustered eighty thousand men in the field, scarcely a third of the invading army, suddenly retreated. A body of fifteen thousand cavalry, under Casim Beg, laid the country waste as far as Linz, but were cut to pieces by the Germans. Grätz fell into the hands of Ibrahim Pasha in 1532, but the citizens, throwing themselves into the castle, made a brave resistance, until relieved by an imperial army under Katzianer. The Turks were routed. The Pasha was killed at Firnitz. Peace was concluded between the emperor and the sultan, who was at that time engaged in a fresh contest with Persia. A part of Hungary was ceded to Ferdinand, Zapolya retaining posses-

sion of the rest, but the Persian war was no sooner brought to a conclusion than hostilities broke out anew.

A violent struggle was, meanwhile, carried on in Switzerland. The Alpine shepherds, the four cantons, and Zug, since known as the Catholic cantons, leagued together, and with the Archduke Ferdinand. The whole of Switzerland took up arms. Negotiation was unavailing, Zwingli being averse to peace. He fell at Albis, where his party suffered a total defeat. Geneva rejected the Catholic service in 1535, asserted her freedom, and placed herself under the government of the great Reformer, Calvin, whose tenets spread thence into France, where they were upheld by the Huguenots (Eidgenossen, confederates).

Philip of Hesse, dissatisfied with the treaty of Nuremberg, speedily infringed the conditions of peace by leaguering with the Swabian confederation, and with Wurtemberg, against Ferdinand. The emperor, threatened by fresh dangers, meanwhile lay sick, having broken his leg when hunting. A conference took place at Marseilles between the pope and the French monarch, both of whom smarted beneath the supremacy of the Habsburg, nor was it without the permission of the former that the latter entered into alliance with the German Protestants, and advanced one hundred thousand dollars in aid of the attempt made by Ulric, the young duke of Wurtemberg, to regain his duchy, at this time incorporated with Austria. A meeting took place between Philip of Hesse and Francis I. at Bar le Duc, after which Philip, secure of his ally, took the field with twenty thousand men, with the view of reinstating Ulric on the throne of Wurtemberg. The Pfalzgraf Philip, Ferdinand's stadtholder at Stuttgard, who had been merely able to assemble a body of ten thousand men, was defeated at Lauffen, and Ulric took possession of Stuttgard in 1534. The emperor and the archduke, anxious to avoid a general war, yielded, on condition of the latter being recognized as Roman king, and of Wurtemberg remaining in fee of Austria. Peace was made at Kadan, and, by a treaty at Linz, Bavaria was in-

duced to recognize Ferdinand as king of Germany. The Protestant faith was established in Wurtemberg by Ulric, who also ratified the ancient liberties of his subjects. Wurtemberg, consequently, formed a point of union between the Lutherans in the North and the Swiss; and the Landgrave, Melancthon, and the citizens of Basel again revived the negotiations broken at Marburg, for the purpose of uniting the whole of the Reformers in one great party. Luther was this time more compliant, and gave his assent to the Wittenberg concordat drawn up by Melancthon, which conciliated the most essential differences between the Swiss and Lutherans. A secret feeling of animosity, nevertheless, still existed, and the concessions made by the Zwinglians merely brought the Calvinists in more striking opposition to the Lutherans, and ranged all the free-thinkers and the republican spirits of the day, opposed to Luther's doctrines, on their side.

CXCVI. *Disturbances in the Cities — The Anabaptists in Munster — Great Revolution in the Hansa — Dissolution of the German Hospitalers — Russian Depredations*

EACH of the Estates had successively attempted to bring about the Reformation. The clergy had commenced it by raging among themselves; the nobility and the peasantry had separately endeavored to turn it to their own advantage and had been defeated; the attempts of the cities, still more limited and isolated, were also destined to fail; for it was decreed that among all the Estates the princes alone should reap the benefits it produced.

In 1523, a great movement took place among the cities of Lower Germany. Lutheran preachers were everywhere installed, the Catholic priests expelled, and the refractory town councils deposed. The cities of Upper Germany also favored the Reformation. Strasburg, Constance, and the cities of the Upper Rhine adhered to Zwingli. Œcolampadius reformed Basel in 1529.

The Anabaptists had, since the defeat of the peasantry, rarely ventured to reappear. The cruelty with which they were persecuted by the Lutherans induced them to emigrate in great numbers to the Netherlands, where the sedentary occupations of the greater part of the inhabitants, chiefly artisans and manufacturers, inclined them the more readily to religious enthusiasm. The people were, at a later period, secretly instigated to revolt by individuals of this sect. The emperor, Charles, never lost sight of the Netherlands, which he highly valued, and sought to secure both within and without. For this purpose, he concluded peace with the restless Charles of Guelders, on whom he bestowed Guelders and Zutphen in fee, and published the severest laws or Placates against the heretics, which sentenced male heretics to the

stake, female ones to be buried alive.—Margaret, the stadtholderess of the Netherlands, died in 1530, and was succeeded by Maria, Charles's sister, the widow of Louis of Hungary, who was compelled to execute her brother's cruel commands.

The Anabaptists, persecuted in the Netherlands, again emigrated in great numbers, and were received, in 1532, by the citizens of Munster, who had expelled their bishop and been treated with great severity by Luther, who, true to his principles, ever sought to keep the cause of the Reformation free from political revolutions.¹ The most extravagant folly and license ere long prevailed in the city. John Bockelson, a tailor from Leyden, gave himself out as a prophet, and proclaimed himself king of the universe; a clothier named Knipperdolling, and one Krechting, were elected burgomasters. A community of goods and of wives was proclaimed and carried into execution. Civil dissensions ensued, but were speedily quelled by the Anabaptists. John of Leyden took seventeen wives, one of whom, Divara, gained great influence by her spirit and beauty. The city was, meanwhile, closely besieged by the expelled bishop, Francis von Waldeck, who was aided by several of the Catholic and Lutheran princes; numbers of the nobility flocked thither for pastime and carried on the siege against the Anabaptists, who made a long and valiant defense. The attempts of their brethren in Holland and Friesland to relieve them proved ineffectual. A dreadful famine ensued in consequence of the closeness of the siege; the citizens lost courage and betrayed the city by night to the enemy. Most of the fanatics were cut to pieces. John, Knipperdolling, and Krechting were captured, inclosed in iron cages, and carried for six months throughout Germany, after which they were brought back to Munster to

¹ It is a remarkable fact that the tricolor was, even at this period, the revolutionary symbol. Uniforms were either gray or green, the arms white; gray, in remembrance of death; green, in sign of regeneration; white, in token of innocence. A golden ring was also worn in sign of a common marriage.

suffer an agonizing death. Divara and the rest of the principal fanatics were beheaded.

The disturbances produced throughout Germany by the Reformation concluded with a revolution in the Hansa, more extensive in nature than any of the preceding ones, and which, had it been less completely isolated from the southern part of the empire, might easily have produced the most important results.

In 1528, Luther's works were publicly burned at Lubeck by the common hangman, but, two years later, the people rebelled, compelled the town-council to grant religious liberty, prohibited the Catholic service in the churches, and drove the burgomaster, Nicolas Broemser, out of the city. His flight was a signal for the expulsion of the whole of the town-councilors; the artisans seized the government, 1530, and placed at their head Jurgen Wullenweber, a poor tradesman, whose genius was far in advance of his times. His nomination to the burgomastership of Lubeck rendered him, according to statute, president of the Hansa, and, perceiving at a glance the political position of the North, he projected the lasting confirmation of the power of the Hansa by a great revolution.

Shortly anterior to these events, the Hansa had made various attempts to dissolve the union of the three kingdoms of the North, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, under Christiern II., and had aided the Swedes under Gustavus Vasa, and the Danes under Frederick of Holstein, to shake off his yoke. Christiern was treacherously seized by the Danes and imprisoned in the castle of Sunderburg, in 1532. The aid received from the Hansa was speedily forgotten by the Swedes and Danes, and Gustavus leagued with Frederick against their common ally. Frederick expired in the ensuing year, and Wullenweber instantly planned the restoration of Christiern to the vacant throne, and in his name organized a fearful revolution against the Danish nobility. The liberty of the people was the general cry. The cities of the Baltic, Stralsund, Rostock, and Wismar, imitated the example set

by Lubeck, and formed popular committees, all of which were subservient to Wullenweber, who, aided by the burgomaster of Copenhagen and the minter of Malmö, the capitals of Denmark, instigated the people to revolt. Mark Meyer, who had risen from the forge to the command of the forces of the city of Lubeck, the handsomest man of his time, defended the Sound against the Dutch and English, and being wrecked on the English coast, was thrown into the Tower and sentenced to be hanged as a pirate. He, however, persuaded Henry VIII., who was at that time on ill terms with the pope and the emperor, and jealous of the northern states, to offer his alliance to Lubeck, and, instead of being sent to the gallows, was dubbed knight and sent away with every mark of distinction by the English monarch. Meyer, on his return, sent Wullenweber to Sweden, with the view of placing Sture, a descendant of a royal branch, on the throne. This project was nullified by the incapacity of the youthful pretender.

Christopher, count of Oldenburg, Christiern's cousin, now took the chief command, and, although opposed by the Danish nobility, who offered the crown to Christian, count of Holstein, entered Copenhagen in triumph, the Danes everywhere rising against the obnoxious nobles and bishops. Christian, in reprisal, closely besieged the city of Lubeck, cut off all correspondence between her and the country, and destroyed the suburban gardens and villas. The citizens, reduced by these measures to a state of great discomfort, began to clamor for peace, and Wullenweber, on returning from Copenhagen, whither he had accompanied the count, was ill received, and, notwithstanding his concessions, became, owing to the machinations of the aristocratic party, gradually less popular. Christian, immediately after the conclusion of this partial peace, attacked the Danish peasantry, who were in revolt throughout Jutland, and beheaded their leader. Meyer was betrayed into his hands at Helsingborg, and imprisoned in Vardbierg, where he gained over the garrison, expelled the commandant, and seized the castle. A

decisive engagement, in which the Hansa was defeated, took place at Assens. The Lubeck fleet, which favored the aristocratic faction, was, at the same time, defeated by the united squadrons of Denmark and Sweden. Hamburg convoked a Hanseatic diet, before which Wullenweber appeared and implored the deputies to prosecute the war. The aristocratic faction, nevertheless, triumphed, and a decree was passed, threatening Lubeck with exclusion from the empire unless the people were compelled to abdicate their sovereignty. The destruction of the Anabaptists in Munster increased the insolence of the aristocratic faction in Lubeck; the municipality was compelled to resign its functions, and Broemser was triumphantly reinstalled.

Wullenweber, deserted by the fickle citizens, was treacherously seized by the archbishop of Bremen, and delivered to the cruel duke, Henry of Brunswick, by whom he was three times put to the rack and then beheaded. Peace was, to the ruin of the Hansa, concluded with Christian, and the Germans were withdrawn from Copenhagen, which was compelled by famine to surrender. Meyer, forced to yield by his followers, was put to the rack and quartered. The glory of the Hansa fell, never again to rise.

The Lutheran clergy, however, celebrated their triumph over the Anabaptists and the Calvinists. The maintenance of the Confession of Augsburg and of the Lutheran Catechism was confirmed by the Hanse towns, at a great convocation at Hamburg, in 1535.

The empire of the German Hospitalers, founded by the Hansa, suffered far greater reverses. Albert, duke of Brandenburg, brother to Casimir von Culmbach and George von Anspach-Jägerndorf, was elected grand-master in 1511. The Poles, instigated by the bishops, invaded Prussia in 1520. A truce was concluded in 1521, although Albert was, at that time, supported by a body of fourteen thousand German mercenaries. The Order had fallen into such great disrepute that the knights never ventured to wear their dress in public. The pride of the aristocracy had fallen; the

knights had voluntarily elected a prince as their leader. The pope even, on the complaint of the duke against the bishops, reproached him with the degraded condition of the Order and demanded its reformation, a demand with which he complied in a manner little intended by his monitor, by yielding to the desire of the people for the admission of Lutheran preachers, the use of the German language in the church service, and the abolition of enforced celibacy. In 1525, he concluded a treaty at Cracow with Poland, by which the Order was dissolved, and he was declared hereditary duke of Prussia, which he held in fee of Poland. He also strengthened himself by an alliance with Denmark by wedding the Princess Dorothea, the daughter of Frederick II.

Livonia and Courland, where the Teutonic Order still maintained a shadow of authority, were devastated by a horde of one hundred and thirty thousand Russians under their czar, Ivan Wasiliewicz II., the most bloodthirsty monster that ever raged on earth. The Hansa, jealous of the prosperity of the colony she had herself founded, refused her aid. Gothard Kettler, the last master of the Order in Livonia, made a determined resistance, and was at length assisted by Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, who partitioned the country between themselves, leaving Courland and Semgall as a hereditary duchy to Kettler. The jealousy that prevailed among the new possessors was turned to advantage by the czar, who invaded Livonia in 1572, at the head of two hundred thousand men, plundered and ravaged the country, and massacred the inhabitants. A fresh invasion took place in 1577, and the most horrid barbarities were again perpetrated. The German garrison of the castle of Wenden, on learning the fate of their countrymen, destroyed themselves by blowing the castle into the air. Hans Büring of Brunswick, the hero of Livonia, alone made head with a small troop of followers against the Russians, whom he greatly harassed. The fortune of the czar, however, turned at Wenden. The Swedes dispatched an army against him

under the French general Pontus de la Gardie, who speedily drove him out of the country. Sweden was rewarded by the possession of Esthonia; Livonia remained annexed to Poland, and Courland under Kettler, while Denmark retained the island of Æsel. The power of the two last was, however, very inconsiderable, and before long a war broke out between the rival powers, Poland and Sweden, from which Russia, ever on the watch, alone reaped benefit.

CXCVII. *The Council of Trent—The Schmalkald War—
The Interim—Maurice*

BEFORE the settlement of the great question that agitated Christendom, the infidels had again to be combated. Notwithstanding the aid promised by the Estates of the empire, the Turks had met with but trifling opposition in Hungary, where the imperial troops under Katzianer suffered a disgraceful defeat near Esseck. Katzianer, although evidently innocent, was by order of Ferdinand imprisoned at Vienna, whence he escaped to Zriny, the Ban of Croatia, by whom he was assassinated as he sat at table under pretext of his intending to seek shelter with the Turks, a step counseled by his pretended friends. This defeat compelled Ferdinand to recognize Zapolya as king of Hungary, on condition of the crown reverting on his demise to the house of Habsburg. The reconciliation of the factions that agitated Hungary was, however, prevented by the sultan, who overran the whole country, converted Ofen into a Turkish city with mosques, and partitioned the territory into Turkish governments. At the same time, Haraddin Barbarossa, a Turkish pirate, founded a kingdom in Algiers and seized Tunis, whence his vessels struck terror along the coasts of Italy and Spain and scoured the Mediterranean. Tunis was taken by Charles and his ally, Admiral Doria, in 1535, but the distant conquest could not be maintained, and the

pirates speedily reappeared. A second expedition undertaken by Charles, in 1541, against Algiers proved unsuccessful.

War again broke out with France. Francis I. renewed his claims upon Milan on the death of Francesco Sforza, in 1535, and invaded Italy, whence he was forced to retreat by Charles and the duke of Alba, who, in reprisal, entered Provence, whence they were in their turn driven by pestilence. Peace was once more concluded in 1537. The emperor retained Milan. Three years after this he journeyed from Spain to the Netherlands, and having the intention to visit Henry VIII. of England, had the boldness to pass through France, where he was sumptuously entertained by Francis, who accompanied him from Paris to the frontier.

The Lutherans, meanwhile, increased in strength, if not in unity. John, elector of Saxony, was succeeded, in 1532, by his son, John Frederick, who surpassed him in zeal for the Reformation: he was also continually at feud with Philip of Hesse. Christian, king of Denmark, joined the Schmalkald confederacy in 1538. Brandenburg embraced Lutheranism in 1539, and Thuringia followed the example. The nobility in most of the northern states upheld the Catholic, the burghers the Lutheran, faith. The Protestant party demanded a council independent of the pope and held on this side of the Alps, and therefore refused to recognize the authority of that convoked by the emperor for the settlement of religious differences, for which it was moreover clear a council was utterly inadequate. The Catholic princes also openly entered into a holy alliance in opposition to that of Schmalkald in 1538. This alliance consisted of the Archduke Ferdinand, William and Louis of Bavaria, Eric and Henry of Brunswick, and the ecclesiastical princes. Each side narrowly watched the other and equally avoided a struggle, while the moderate party again attempted to conciliate matters with the aid of the emperor and without the pope. Philip of Hesse was, at that period,

also disposed to make concessions. John Frederick of Saxony revived his former project of allying himself with the house of Habsburg. The emperor, moreover, still threatened by the Turks and French, was, like the Protestants, far from disinclined to peace.

A tolerably peaceable discussion took place between Melanethon and Eck at the diet held at Ratisbon in 1541, at which the Ratisbon Interim was proposed by Granvella, the chancellor of the empire, in Charles's presence, for the provisional accommodation of religious differences. The princes of Anhalt were sent as imperial ambassadors to make proposals to Luther, who, falsely regarding the whole affair as an intrigue intended to mislead the Protestants, obstinately refused to concede to the emperor's wishes. The French monarch, meanwhile, anxious to separate the pope from the emperor, and to hinder any concession on the part of the former to the Protestants, pledged himself for the maintenance of the purity of the Catholic faith, in which he was joined by Bavaria, jealous of the restriction upon her power consequent upon the union of the contending parties under the emperor.

Fresh disputes speedily broke out, and a wordy contest was for some time carried on between the elector of Saxony and Henry, duke of Brunswick. Blows quickly followed. The Schmalkald alliance flew to arms, was victorious at Kalfelden in 1542, and expelled the weak duke from Brunswick. The city of Hildesheim expelled her bishop and embraced Lutheranism.

The emperor again appeared in person at the diet held during the ensuing year (1543) at Spire, and persuaded the Schmalkald confederacy to aid him against the French monarch, who had once more taken up arms. The elector of Saxony was appointed generalissimo of the imperial forces, and marched against William of Cleves, who, irritated at the emperor's refusal to invest him with the countship of Guelders, for the purpose of annexing it to the Netherlands, had entered into alliance with France. The city of Duren was

stormed and burned down, and the inhabitants were put to the sword, and William, in order to save his country, flung himself at the emperor's feet at Venloo, ceded Guelders, and, to the great mortification of the Protestants, who had so strongly aided in his discomfiture, swore to maintain Catholicism throughout his dominions. He shortly afterward wedded the emperor's niece, Maria, one of King Ferdinand's daughters. The French were driven from Luxemburg, which they had seized, and pursued almost to the gates of Paris, when the treaty of Crespy was suddenly concluded between Charles and Francis, the former of whom, with the view of humbling the Protestants, once more sided with the pope, urged the instant convocation of the council, and took measures to curb the growing power of the Schamalkald confederation, whose members neither turned their favorable position to advantage nor perceived the monarch's wiles. Henry of Brunswick again attempted to regain possession of his territory, but was defeated and taken prisoner at Nordheim, 1545, by the leagued princes, who gained an ally in the elector of the Pfalz.

The council of Trent was opened by the pope, 1545, and the emperor convoked a diet for the ensuing year at Ratisbon, with the view either of entrapping the Protestants or of putting them down by force. Before the opening of this memorable diet, Luther expired at Eisleben, February 18, 1546. He died in sorrow, but in the conscientious belief of having faithfully served his God, and, although the great and holy work, begun by him, had been degraded and dishonored partly by his personal faults, although the Reformation of the church had been rendered subservient to the views of a policy essentially unchristian, the good cause was destined to outlive these transient abuses. The seeds, scattered by this great Reformer, produced, it is true, thorns during his lifetime and during succeeding centuries, but burst into blossom as the storms through which the Reformation passed gradually lulled.

France being humbled, England gained over, and the sultan pacified by the cession of Hungary, the pope and the emperor turned their united strength against the Protestants. In 1540, the pope had taken into his service in Spain a newly-founded monkish order, that of Jesus, which he had commissioned, by means of the French and Italian policy practiced by it as morality, to extirpate heresy. The motto of this new order was, "The aim sanctifies the means." The Jesuits made their first appearance at the council of Trent. The pope, moreover, prepared a new bull, the publication of which he reserved until a fitting opportunity.

The emperor, unwilling to have recourse to violent measures, tried by every method of subterfuge and hypocrisy to induce the Protestants, at the diet held at Ratisbon, to recognize the council, meanwhile secretly assuring the pope, in the event of war, of his intention to extirpate the Lutheran heresy. The pope, fully acquainted with Charles's duplicity, deceived him in his turn, by publishing these secret promises, to his extreme mortification, throughout Germany. The anger of the Protestants was justly roused by the perfidy of the emperor, who, true to his policy, now endeavored to breed disunion among them, by putting the elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse out of the ban of the empire, while he spared the rest of the confederates, with some of whom, for instance, Joachim II. of Brandenburg, who had ever been lukewarm in the cause, Albert Alcibiades of Culmbach, and Maurice of Saxon-Thuringia, on whom Philip had bestowed one of his daughters, he entered upon a secret understanding. The publication of the bull, and the ban, meanwhile, roused the most phlegmatic members of the Schmalkald confederacy from their state of quiescent ease and inspired them with unwonted energy. The gallant Schertlin von Burtenbach assembled an army in the service of Augsburg and of the rest of the cities of Upper Germany; the Landgrave Philip hailed the outbreak of war with open delight, and even the Saxon elec-

tor, unwieldy as he was in person, mounted his war-steed with alacrity.

These vigorous measures took Charles, whose troops were still unassembled, by surprise. In August, 1546, the princes of Saxony and Hesse united their forces at Donauwörth with the burghers under Schertlin and the Wurtembergers under Hans von Heideck. They numbered forty-seven thousand men, and might easily have surprised the emperor, who had merely nine thousand, of which two thousand were Spaniards, at Ratisbon, had the advice of Schertlin, who invaded the Tyrol, to advance with the whole of their forces, been listened to by the princes, who, unwilling to disturb Bavaria, that had declared herself neutral, allowed the emperor to escape and to place himself at Landshut at the head of twenty thousand men, sent to his aid from Italy, with whom he threw himself into Ingolstadt. The disunion that prevailed among the confederates, meanwhile, rendered their superior numbers unavailing, and, after vainly bombarding Ingolstadt, they withdrew with the intention of intercepting the re-enforcements brought from the Netherlands by the Count von Buren, who eluded their search and joined the emperor with fifteen thousand men.

The Saxon elector was now recalled into Saxony by an attack on the part of Duke Maurice, who was secretly instigated by the emperor, and the rest of the confederates dispersing, Upper Germany was exposed to the whole wrath of the emperor. The cities, deaf to Schertlin's remonstrances, offered no opposition. The princes of Upper Germany also submitted. John Frederick of Saxony was taken prisoner on the Lochauer heath in 1547, and Wittenberg was induced, by the emperor's threat to decapitate his prisoner, to open her gates. The elector steadily refused to recant. His prison was voluntarily shared by his friend, the celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach. Philip of Hesse was also treacherously seized at Halle by the emperor, from whom he had received a safe-conduct. The Protestant party was thus deprived of its last support. Wolfgang of Anhalt

voluntarily quitted his possessions and lived for some time incognito as a miller. Schertlin fled to Switzerland, and Bucer, the Strasburg Reformer, to England, where his remains were, under the reign of Mary, exhumed and burned.

The emperor returned to Augsburg in order to regulate the affairs of the empire, while his brother Ferdinand went to Prague for the purpose of revenging himself upon the Bohemians for the negative aid granted by them, during the late contest, to the Protestant party. The bloody diet was opened, and the heads of a confederacy formed at Prague, February 15, 1547, by the Estates in defense of their constitution and religious liberty, were publicly executed. Numbers of the nobility were compelled to emigrate; others purchased their lives with the loss of their property. The cities were mulcted, deprived of their privileges, and placed under imperial judges. Numbers of the citizens were exiled and whipped across the frontier by the executioner. All the Hussites belonging to the strict sect of the Taborites, the "Bohemian Brethren," were sentenced to eternal banishment and sent in three bands, each of which numbered a thousand men, into Prussia. The whole of Austria favored the doctrines of Luther, but had remained true to her allegiance.

The pope, Paul III., terror-stricken at the successes of the emperor, instead of being delighted at the triumph of Catholicism, removed the council from Trent to Bologna on the emperor's return, in 1546, to Augsburg, where, true to his former policy, he treated the heretics with great moderation. His arbitrary abolition of corporative government and restoration of that of the ancient burgher families in all the cities of Upper Germany gave a death-blow to civil liberty. In the spring of 1547, Francis I. of France expired. His son and successor, Henry II., instantly confederated with the pope against the emperor, and even affianced his natural daughter to a Farnese, one of the pope's nephews. Charles V., meanwhile, boldly protested against the removal of the

council to Bologna, declared its decisions invalid until its return to Trent, and, in the meantime, endeavored to accomplish a church union, without the pope, with the now humbled and more tractable Protestants; but all his diplomacy failed in reconciling principles diametrically opposed.

The Augsburg Interim, chiefly drawn up by Joachim, the lukewarm elector of Brandenburg, and his smooth-tongued chaplain, John Agricola, and proposed as his ultimatum by the emperor to the Protestants, was a masterpiece of incongruity, and utterly failed in its intention. Ulric of Wurtemberg and the Pfalzgraf Frederick, harassed by the imperial troops, accepted it unconditionally, but the elector Maurice attempted to replace it by another, the Leipzig Interim, drawn up by Melancthon. The majority of the other princes also highly disapproved of it. The captive elector of Saxony steadily refused to subscribe, but the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, complied. The Interim was neither Catholic nor Lutheran, and was viewed with suspicion by the people, by whom it was regarded as a sign of retrogression.

The cities openly rejected the Interim, which the emperor merely succeeded in imposing on the South, where his troops were encamped. Constance was surprised by the Spaniards in 1548, converted into a provincial town of Austria, and compelled to embrace Catholicism. Flacius, Luther's most faithful disciple, until now a teacher at Leipzig, quitted that city in disgust at the Leipzig Interim, which, in truth, was not much superior to that of Augsburg, and took refuge in Magdeburg, where the bold citizens set the emperor and the pope equally at defiance.

The little approbation bestowed upon the Interim, and the intrigues of William, duke of Bavaria, against his power, now induced Charles to abandon his plan for the reconciliation of the Protestants without the interference of the pope, and for their conversion by his means into mere political tools. This change in his policy was, by chance, masked by the death of Paul III., who was succeeded by

Julius III., a weak and slothful prince, who, bribed by the emperor's promise of bringing the Protestants to him, opened in 1551, apparently of his own accord, the council at Trent, whither the Protestants were compelled to send their deputies.

The elector of Brandenburg most deeply humbled himself, by promising, as a good son of the church, to obey every decree of the council. The emperor, unwilling to concede too much to the pope, however, beheld this excessive servility with displeasure, and would, in all probability, have defended the Protestants with greater ability than they displayed on their own behalf, had not the whole tissue of impotence and fraud been suddenly rent asunder by the rebellion of Maurice of Saxony, whom the emperor had commissioned to execute the ban pronounced upon Magdeburg, but who, secretly assembling an immense force, entered into alliance with Henry II. of France, and, together with Albert von Culmbach, raised the standard of revolt, and published a manifesto, in which, unmindful of their own treasonable correspondence with France, they bitterly reproached the emperor for the numbers of Spaniards and Italians brought by him into Germany.

Maurice, after granting peace to Magdeburg, marched, in 1552, with William of Hesse, the son of the captive elector, and Albert the Wild of Culmbach, upon Innsbruck, where the emperor lay sick. The Ehrenberg passes were stoutly disputed by the Austrians, three thousand of whom fell.

A mutiny that broke out in the electoral army gave the emperor time to escape from Innsbruck, whence he was carried in a litter across the mountains to Villach, in Carinthia. John Frederick of Saxony was restored to liberty on condition of negotiating terms of peace. The emperor was, at this conjuncture, without troops, the enemy was in full pursuit, the whole of Germany in confusion at this unexpected stroke, the Catholics were panic-struck, the Lutherans full of hope. Every city through which Maurice passed expelled the

priests, and the ancient burgher families rejected the Interim, re-established the pure tenets of the gospel, and restored corporative government. Had the reaction spread, the emperor would, infallibly, have been compelled to sue for peace.

Henry II. at the same time took the field as "the liberator of Germany." His first care was to secure his promised prey. Toul was betrayed into his hands. Metz was taken by stratagem, and was henceforward converted into a French fortress. The young duke, Charles of Lorraine, was sent captive to France. Strasburg refused to open her gates to the invader. Hagenau and Weissenburg were seized. The people, far from countenancing the treachery of their rulers, everywhere gave vent to their hatred against the French, who were warned by their ally, the Swiss confederation, not to attack the city of Strasburg. Maria, stadtholderess of the Netherlands, meanwhile, sent a body of troops across the French frontier, and Maurice making terms with the emperor, the "Liberator" hastily retreated homeward, seizing Verdun en route.

At the first news of the revolt of the elector, Ferdinand had attempted to prevent war by negotiation, to which Maurice refused to listen until the emperor's flight from Innsbruck had placed him in a position to dictate terms of peace. A treaty was, consequently, concluded at Passau, August 2, 1552, by which religious liberty was secured to the Protestants, and the princes, John Frederick and Philip, were restored to freedom, Maurice binding himself in return to defend the empire against the French and the Turks. He accordingly took the field against the latter, but with little success, the imperial commander, Castaldo, contravening all his efforts by plundering Hungary and drawing upon himself the hatred of the people.

Charles, meanwhile, marched against the French, and, without hesitation, again deposed the corporative governments reinstated by Maurice, on his way through Augsburg, Ulm, Esslingen, etc. Metz, valiantly defended by the Duke

de Guise, was vainly besieged for some months, and the emperor was at length forced to retreat. The French were, nevertheless, driven out of Italy.

The aged emperor now sighed for peace. Ferdinand, averse to open warfare, placed his hopes on the imperceptible effect of a consistently pursued system of suppression and Jesuitical obscurantism. Maurice was answerable for the continuance of the peace, the terms of which he had prescribed. Philip of Hesse, and John Frederick, whose sons had, during his imprisonment, founded a new university at Jena, similar to that at Wittenberg, had already one foot in the grave. Ulric of Wurtemberg had expired in 1550 and been succeeded by his son, Christopher, who wisely sought to heal the bleeding wounds of his country, upon which, in unison with his Estates, he bestowed a revised constitution; provincial Estates, solely consisting of Lutheran prelates and city deputies, with the right of rejecting the taxes proposed by the government, of controlling the whole of the state property, etc., and rendered permanent by a committee; a general court of justice, and numerous other useful institutions. Peace was, consequently, a necessity with this prince. The weak elector of Brandenburg was, as ever, ready to negotiate terms. Albert the Wild was the only one among the princes who was still desirous of war. Indifferent to aught else, he marched, at the head of some thousand followers, through Central Germany, murdering and plundering as he passed along, with the intent of once more laying the Franconian and Saxon bishoprics waste in the name of the gospel.

The princes at length formed the Heidelberg confederacy against this monster, and the emperor put him under the ban of the empire, which Maurice undertook to execute, although he had been his old friend and companion in arms. Albert was engaged in plundering the archbishopric of Magdeburg, when Maurice came up with him at Sievershausen. A murderous engagement took place in 1553. Three of the princes of Brunswick were slain. Albert was

severely wounded, and Maurice fell at the moment when victory declared in his favor, in the thirty-third year of his age, in the midst of his promising career. Albert fled, pursued by Henry of Brunswick breathing vengeance for the untimely fate of his sons, to France, but, too proud to eat the bread of dependence, he returned to Germany, where he found an asylum at Pforzheim under the protection of the Margrave of Baden. He died, worn out by excess, in 1557, in his thirty-fifth year.

Every obstacle was now removed, and a peace, known as the religious peace of Augsburg, was concluded by the diet held in that city in 1555. This peace was naturally a mere political agreement provisionally entered into by the princes for the benefit, not of religion, but of themselves. Popular opinion was dumb, knights, burgesses, and peasants bending in lowly submission to the mandate of their sovereigns. By this treaty, branded in history as the most lawless ever concerted in Germany, the principle, "*cujus regio, ejus religio*," the faith of the prince must be that of the people, was laid down. By it not only all the Reformed subjects of a Catholic prince were exposed to the utmost cruelty and tyranny, but the religion of each separate country was rendered dependent on the caprice of the reigning prince; of this the Pfalz offered a sad example, the religion of the people being thus four times arbitrarily changed. The struggles of nature and of reason were powerless against the executioner, the stake, and the sword. This principle was, nevertheless, merely a result of Luther's well-known policy, and consequently struck his contemporaries far less forcibly than after generations. Freedom of belief, confined to the immediate subjects of the empire—for instance, to the reigning princes, the free nobility, and the city councilors—was monopolized by at most twenty thousand privileged persons, including the whole of the impoverished nobility and the oligarchies of the most insignificant imperial free towns, and it consequently follows, taking the whole of the inhabitants of the empire at twenty millions, that, out of a thousand

Germans, one only enjoyed the privilege of choosing his own religion.

The ecclesiastical princes, to the great prejudice of the Reformation, did not participate in this privilege. By the ecclesiastical proviso, they were, it is true, personally permitted to change their religion, but incurred thereby the deprivation of their dignities and possessions.

END OF VOLUME TWO







